Informing Plans for Managing Resources of Cape Lookout National Seashore under Projected Climate Change, Sea Level Rise, and Associated Impacts: Community Member Interviews Report

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Executive Summary

Climate change threatens traditional ways of managing cultural resources. For example, climate-related increases in storm-related flooding, sea-level rise, and erosion further complicate the already complex task of maintaining historic structures. Cultural resource managers need several tools to enhance their understanding of proactive adaptation measures and wise-allocation of resources. This study provides one type of information to support management decisions for cultural resource adaptation. Social science data such as the study presented in this report, allows for meaningful insights into how individuals perceive climate change impacts and alternative adaptation measures to sustain cultural resources.

This report presents findings from a qualitative assessment of community members’ connections to the cultural resources, specifically building and landscapes within the two historic districts (Portsmouth Village and Cape Lookout Village) at Cape Lookout National Seashore (CALO) on North Carolina’s Outer Banks, as well as their perceptions of strategies to adapt the resources to effects from changing climate conditions, such as sea level rise and storm-related flooding and erosion. In addition to direct impacts from storms and flooding, adaptation actions implemented to protect historic buildings from these impacts may alter community members’ connections to these cultural resources. Therefore, the goal of this study was to provide detailed descriptions of past community members’ place meanings, cultural resource values, vulnerability perceptions, and climate adaptation preferences. Between November 2015 and August 2016, we conducted in-depth interviews with 18 community members with connections to CALO. The “voices” of these community members

exemplify the views of one type of stakeholder to inform future planning efforts at CALO; however, results of this qualitative assessment do not necessarily represent perspectives of the broader “Down East” community¹. Future planning efforts will benefit from additional community member engagement.

A brief synopsis of the study questions, findings, and recommendations appear below.

Who participated in this study?
- Individuals or descendants of individuals who owned or leased a building within one of the two historic districts at CALO (i.e., Portsmouth Village and Cape Lookout Village) were the study populations. An initial list of these individuals was provided by the Park Superintendent and the Director of the Core Sound Waterfowl Museum and Heritage Center (a partner organization). We expanded our sample to other community members (hereafter “the community”) using chain-referral sampling²; specifically, we included individuals identified by those on our original list who we were told also have strong connections to one or more of the historic districts.
- Eighteen individuals were interviewed for this study. Fifteen participants were over the age of 50, illustrating the aging community connected to CALO.

What is the nature of CALO community members’ place meanings and cultural resource values³?
- Cape Lookout symbolizes “home,” as community members’ heritage is tied to deep

¹ “Down East” refers to the region east of Beaufort within Carteret County, North Carolina.
² Chain-referral sampling is used when the sample population for the study is rare, specific, hard to locate, or limited. It is not a randomly selected sample, rather an initial list of individuals is created and subsequent members of the sample are found based on the referrals made by the individuals from the original list who are contacted.
³ Place meanings are the functional or emotional values individuals assign to a landscape. Place meanings may include intangible values, such as contributing to one’s identity, and tangible values, such as the physical landscape providing a platform for recreational experiences.
ancestral roots, family memories, and the “Banks” tradition.

- Community members rely on CALO as an escape for spirituality, recharging, and recreation.
- Community members’ place meanings are the *intangible cultural resource values* associated with the tangible cultural resources located within the historic villages. In particular, these intangible values foster sentiments of identity with the place for individuals, families and the community.

**What physical cultural resources are important to community members?**

- The lighthouse is the most salient building in the minds of most participants and is a symbol of their home.
- Other federal maritime buildings and community buildings were identified as having cultural significance.
- Residential homes had some personal significance to individual participants, but were more generally recognized as essential to telling the broader story of how people lived at CALO.
- In Portsmouth Village, the village context as a whole was viewed as important for retaining cultural integrity.

**How do community members perceive vulnerability and change at CALO?**

- “Timing is everything” when assessing vulnerability.
  - Community members unanimously accepted the reality of climate change and its inevitable impacts, but believed that they would not see climate impacts in their lifetime.
  - Participants were more concerned with short-term maintenance backlogs (perceived as “neglect”) and protecting buildings from immediate weather patterns and storms.

**What are community members’ preferences for adaptive strategies for CALO?**

- Some participants supported off-site engineered solutions such as beach nourishment as long as the character of the villages (“historic integrity”) is not altered.
- Few participants supported elevating or moving buildings, citing a loss of character or “soul” of the districts.
- The most supported strategy for structural adaptation was increased restoration and maintenance.
- Community members emphasized the temporary nature of adaptive strategies and explained the corresponding need for increased interpretation (e.g., interpretive displays) and documentation (e.g., documentaries or oral histories) given the inevitability of “nature taking its course” (i.e., the eventual loss of buildings to storms).
- Participants identified three types of strategies for prioritization:
  - Building-based prioritization (based on a building’s age or condition and prior investment in a building).
  - Value-based prioritization (as accounting for the degree to which resources represent the traditional “Banks” way of life).
  - Collaborative prioritization (working directly with community members and experts to determine the most important resources).
- Community and public involvement was listed as the *most important factor* in crafting adaptive strategies.

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4 The barrier islands of eastern North Carolina are referred to as the Outer Banks. Many of the islands that form Cape Lookout National Seashore are known as the Core Banks, as the Core Sound borders most of the islands. The “Banks” are a common way of referring to the barrier island system and the “Banks” tradition reflects the region’s traditional way of life.
How might impacts from climate change and/or adaptation actions affect community members’ place meanings?

- Participants’ explained that their place meanings were much more likely to be negatively impacted by perceived neglect (maintenance backlog) than by natural causes.
- Participants associated a sense of sadness with loss from climate change or “Mother Nature” but acknowledged that nature must take its course and their connections would remain intact despite impacts to and total destruction of the buildings from climate impacts.
- Note: a few participants expressed that the districts had already lost meaning when the NPS acquired the land; therefore, these participants’ place meanings won’t be further affected by climate change impacts.

How do community members perceive the relationship between the NPS and the CALO community, and how can this relationship be improved?

- Participants explained that the NPS – community relationship has been turbulent since the formation of the NPS unit.
- Community members have historically felt excluded from decision-making and typically perceive NPS communication about preservation decisions with community members to be poor, but explained that these issues seem to be improving in recent years.
- Participants unanimously agreed, even despite poor relations, that the NPS is a positive force for CALO since it has kept the land safe from private development.
- The community appreciates that the NPS contributes to preservation of cultural resources as well as natural resources and that the park contributes to the local economy.
- Participants had several specific suggestions for enhancing the relationship between the NPS and the community:
  - Involving the Down East community in planning and listening to local voices.
  - Taking the time to fully understand a complex community and resource.
  - Leveraging partnerships and using collaboration for planning.

This study revealed that community members’ strong place meanings—intangible cultural resource values—influence their adaptation preferences for historic CALO buildings. Participants accept the inevitability of climate impacts to cultural resources and are more concerned with addressing immediate threats through restoration and maintenance, as well as increased interpretation and documentation. The participants perceive that the Down East community is ready and willing to help with planning and maintenance efforts; they also suggest that involving the Down East community in park planning will improve the NPS relationship and provide opportunities for the NPS to better incorporate community values into their interpretive materials. Leveraging community member input and resources of partner organizations has the potential to enhance preservation of both the physical cultural resources (shorter-term) and the cultural heritage (longer-term) within CALO’s historic districts.
Introduction

Management issues posed by climate change challenge the notion that current cultural resource policies and accepted strategies are sufficient for national park planning and management (Knapp et al., 2014). In coastal parks, like Cape Lookout National Seashore (CALO), managers cannot stop sea level rise, prevent storms from hitting the coast, or mitigate the natural tendency of the barrier island to migrate toward land due to sea level rise (Riggs, et al., 2011). Therefore, it is important to rethink traditional approaches for protecting cultural resources while recognizing National Park Service (NPS) budgetary constraints and that the current budget has been insufficient to maintain assets in good condition.

It is inevitable that climate-related impacts will occur (for coastal North Carolina, see: Riggs et al., 2011) and that tradeoffs and compromises will have to be made in managing expectations and weighing options (Wilson & Arvai, 2011) in response to climate change. Climate-driven events (storms, flooding, etc.) heighten the challenge facing national park managers to both determine appropriate methods for adapting cultural resources and effectively allocate limited funding to proactively protect cultural resources in national parks.

Given the challenges posed by climate change and constrained fiscal resources, the NPS seeks to enhance its ability to identify and preserve important cultural resources under its care. CALO provides an example of a widespread dilemma for managers: prioritizing adaptation actions that maintain as much historic value as possible within its two designated historic districts (Portsmouth Village and Cape Lookout Village). Any prioritization process of cultural resources is challenged by the both the need to consider the diversity of values held by stakeholders (e.g., individuals with direct connections to the cultural resources) and cultural resource policies (e.g., according to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, buildings located within a national park are considered to be equally “significant” cultural resources when their designation on the National Register of Historic Places was at the “district” or village level).

When considering climate change adaptation for cultural resources in a dynamic and exposed environment like CALO, decision-making should balance resource conservation goals with practical and financial constraints, while considering stakeholder values (Wilson & Arvai, 2011). Knapp et al. (2014) explain that climate change adaptation planning needs to move away from the traditional model of relying only on the opinions of “experts” like biologists, ecologists, and landscape planners towards a model in which local knowledge is valued and integrated into making management decisions. The NPS (2008) identifies several important factors to consider when making management decisions, including: (a) a changing landscape, or dynamic environment; (b) impacts from weather and climate, which make the changing landscape more complex; (c) fiscal constraints that affect both current conditions and possible strategies; and (d) stakeholder values. The NPS (2008) defines stakeholders as community members, partners, visitors, the general public, and future generations. As such, managers are encouraged to consider stakeholders’ values and opinions when making decisions about a shared resource.

Local stakeholders, such as community members, likely have extensive knowledge of their environment and strong conceptions about what makes their community valuable (Wilson & Arvai, 2011; Knapp, et al., 2014). CALO managers know that members of the local community have

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5 NPS Management Policies (2006) requires the same approach to decisions more broadly (i.e., not just for coastal parks).
connections to the cultural resources within the historic districts. However, managers do not have a good understanding of community members’:
(a) connections to CALO and the cultural resources within the historic districts (meanings, benefits, visitation patterns, actions taken to help preserve the cultural resources);
(b) perceptions of cultural resource conditions and landscapes at CALO and within the historic districts;
(c) perceptions of changes to CALO’s cultural resources and landscape;
(d) perceptions of cultural resource and landscape vulnerabilities;
(e) perceptions of the greatest threats (generally and specific to climate change) in terms of impact to cultural resources and the level of concern related to those threats;
(f) perceptions of strategies to avoid those threats or to adapt to unavoidable impacts;
(g) perceptions of how changes (from climate change and/or adaptation strategies) will alter attachment to CALO; and,
(h) recommendations for prioritizing cultural resources and better facilitating relationships between the NPS and local communities.

The purpose of the study presented in this report was to document and enhance understanding of community members’ perceptions. In this study, we defined “community members” as individuals or descendants of individuals owned or leased a building within one of the two historic districts at CALO. The findings may be relevant to CALO managers as one source of information that can be used to inform future planning processes.

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6 The NPS defines cultural resources as physical evidence or place of past human activity: site, object, landscape, building; or a site, building, landscape, object or natural feature of significance to a group of people traditionally associated with it. The NPS defines cultural landscape as a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values.
Overview of Cape Lookout National Seashore

Cape Lookout National Seashore is the southernmost area of North Carolina’s Outer Banks region that is under federal management by the National Park Service (NPS) (Garrity-Blake & Sabella, 2009). Established in 1966, Cape Lookout National Seashore (CALO) was created “to preserve for public use and enjoyment an area in the state of North Carolina possessing outstanding natural and recreational values” (National Park Service [NPS], Portsmouth Village Cultural Landscape Report, 2007, p. 21). The National Seashore is 56 miles long, stretching from Ocracoke Inlet to Beaufort Inlet, covers an area of 532 square miles, and is located within Carteret County, NC (National Park Service [NPS], 2008; NPS, 2012). The barrier islands that comprise CALO border the Atlantic Ocean to the east and south, and Back Sound, Core Sound and Pamlico Sound to the north and west (Figure 1).

CALO is only accessible by ferry or private boat, and one of the park’s most valued attributes is its “primarily undeveloped qualities in contrast to neighboring barrier islands” (National Park Service, Cape Lookout National Seashore Foundation Document, 2012). Despite this undeveloped quality, the islands that comprise the park unit were once home to three distinct settlements (Portsmouth Village, Cape Lookout Village, and Diamond City). However, only two of the settlements (Portsmouth Village and Cape Lookout Village) had residents at the time of acquisition, as the last residents had left Diamond City by 1902 (precipitated by a destructive hurricane in 1899).

CALO is a highly unique and constantly shifting landscape. Barrier islands are “highly ephemeral in nature,” meaning that the Banks naturally move with tides and storms (NPS, 2008, p. 47). CALO was used temporarily by pre-Columbian peoples for fishing encampments and was later inhabited continuously by maritime communities that were involved in whaling, shipping and port activities, commercial fishing, and work for the Lifesaving Stations and Coast Guard (Garrity-Blake & Sabella, 2009). Over time, livelihoods were sustained by fishing, farming, and boat building, gradually transitioning to fishing and hunting camps and other second home vacation properties. Today, Cape Lookout is one of only a few uninhabited

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7 The “Background” narrative and map are presented in all reports affiliated with this series.
barrier island systems left in the world but the two historic districts (Portsmouth Village and Cape Lookout Village) listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NHRP) contain the physical remnants of the cultural heritage of this place.

Portsmouth Village is located at the northernmost point of CALO. The landscape at Portsmouth Village is very open and flat with marshes, ponds, creeks, plains, forested areas, and beach. The buildings in Portsmouth Village are regularly exposed to storm-related flooding (hurricanes and Nor-Easters). The community at Portsmouth Village has been historically associated with the shipping and lightering industry, and was at one point the largest town on the Outer Banks. As the local shipping industry dwindled, the establishment of a Lifesaving Station in 1894 sustained the village in some ways, but the 20th century brought mostly challenges to survival and resilience of the community. However, residents of Portsmouth in the early 20th century have expressed fond memories of the village despite the “harsh environmental conditions of Banks life” (Garrity-Blake & Sabella, 2009, p. 32).

Cape Lookout Village is located on the southernmost tip of CALO and once was characterized by rolling sand dunes; however, the landscape is now comprised of pine trees that were planted in the 1960s. Cape Lookout Village is highly susceptible to erosion, particularly the buildings located on the sound side of the island. Cape Lookout Village, unlike Portsmouth Village, was not a fully established residential village. The settlement began with the establishment of the Cape Lookout Light Station and, subsequently in an area two miles south of the Lighthouse, the Live-Saving Station and Coast Guard Station. Residential development that followed served as temporary homes for men working for the Coast Guard and their visiting families (Garrity-Blake & Sabella, 2009) and seasonal fishing camps.

Historic accounts of both villages reveal stories of human resilience and relationships to the land and the sea. These communities were challenged with living in isolation as well as basic human survival in a very strenuous environment. Islanders who were subjected to the harsh conditions of the Banks responded by adapting to and working with these conditions.

The NPS acquired the lands and buildings in 1966 and instituted either 25-year leases or life estates, all of which have since expired. The last permanent residents left Portsmouth Village in 1971 and Portsmouth Village (including 24 of the buildings) was listed on the NRHP in 1976. At the southern end of CALO, the Cape Lookout Light Station Complex was listed on the NRHP in 1972, the Cape Lookout Coast Guard Station Complex in 1988, and these complexes along with 14 of the residential buildings (one of which is a former Life Saving Station) were designated as a historic district in 2000.

Tourism and recreational values of the CALO are high with its attractive seashore widely used for activities such as camping, fishing and wildlife viewing. In 2016, visitors spent an estimated $20.9 Million while visiting CALO. These expenditures supported a total of 322 jobs, $7.45 million in labor income, $12.25 million in value added, and $22.9 million in economic output in local gateway economies surrounding CALO (Cullinan Thomas and Koontz, 2017). Additionally, CALO is valued as “a living laboratory” due to its educational resources where visitors can learn about the natural processes and history of coastal North Carolina (NPS, 2012).

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8 “Lightering” refers to the process of transferring cargo from large ocean-going vessels (which cannot enter port facilities) to a lighter barge (which can enter port).
The NPS is responsible for all stewardship of the park and is tasked with protecting its resources and preserving the cultural values embedded within the resources. The historic districts and associated cultural landscapes CALO have been at the interface between a terrestrial and marine environment over the last two centuries, thus already exposed to a range of natural coastal hazards (Riggs and Ames, 2007). Over the last few decades, this vulnerability has been exemplified by anthropogenic climate change. A recent assessment of CALO assets (i.e., historic buildings, historic structures and park infrastructure) found that all 289 assets are considered to be of “high” vulnerability to flooding and coastal erosion due to the overall low elevation of CALO and the extreme vulnerability of its park assets to storms and 1-meter of sea level rise. The assessment also suggested that these highly vulnerable park assets had a cumulative value of nearly $880 million (Peek et al., 2015).

Given these climate change impacts, it is likely that more structural damage to diverse cultural resources at CALO will occur, perhaps even complete loss of some irreplaceable resources (Rockman et al., 2016). As suggested by the NPS (2012), the surviving coastal features and cultural landscapes provide observable lessons regarding the impact of changing climate which can inform future decisions regarding what is important to protect and the impacts of potential development on CALO’s natural and cultural resources. Yet, having fixed buildings and resources existing on constantly fluctuating islands and estuaries calls for a more flexible management approach. The NPS has recognized the need to better understand diverse stakeholder perspectives of resilience and adaptation as they begin to develop strategies to adapt the cultural resources to climate-related threats within the two historic districts. This report series documents stakeholders’ (i.e., community members, partner organization members, visitors, and cultural resource management and historic preservation experts) perspectives on climate adaptation planning for cultural resources, and this report specifically focuses on the perspectives of CALO’s community members.

Managing Cultural Resources Under A Changing Climate

Cultural Resources & Climate Change

Culture is an integral and highly complex facet of human existence, and cultural resources are numerous and diverse (King, 2013). Cultural resources include material culture as well as beliefs, values, ways of life, institutions, and practices. King (2013) describes cultural resources as “those aspects of the environment—both physical and intangible, both natural and built—that have cultural value to a group of people” (p. 3). Yet, Knudson (2001) suggests that cultural resources are mostly place-related in that “they tie past and present cultural systems to geographic markers” (p. 361).

Managing cultural resources is a difficult task due to the complexity of human behavior and the diversity of resources (Boyd, et al., 2005). Carman (2005) suggests that managing culture and heritage is more than managing material tangible resources; it is a field of practice that considers all aspects of culture as “resources” (Carman, 2005). Moreover, the management of heritage and cultural resources is often fraught with social and political conflict, since different groups can assign disparate meanings to the same resource or place (Smith, 2005).

Cultural resource management policy, particularly in the U.S., tends to focus on the salience of a resource as a measure of importance. This can sometimes result in a lack of attention by managers to resources that may be extremely important to certain groups of people (Tainter & Bagley, 2005). Thus, managers are challenged by having to make decisions when individuals hold different place meanings for the same resource or when individuals hold the same place meanings for
different resources within a given landscape (Ednie et al., 2010).

Cultural resource decision-making becomes increasingly complex when factoring in budgetary constraints, deferred maintenance, and the threats posed by a changing climate. Given these complexities, research is needed to better understand the importance of specific cultural resources and the ways in which adaptive strategies and management decisions could impact connections to these resources or places (Ednie et al., 2010).

Specifically, cultural resource management (CRM) practitioners need to understand the values and meanings held by the communities historically associated with cultural resources (Knudson, 2001). Moreover, managers “must know what cultural values are found in their landscapes and must ensure that their management protects and enhances both the intangible expression of these values and their physical evidence” (Lennon, 2006, p. 472-473).

Such vigilant management of cultural resources is becoming increasingly imperative in the face of climate change (Haugen & Mattsson, 2011). A recent report from the National Park Service (Peek et al. 2015) identifies upwards of $20 billion worth of coastal assets (including but not limited to cultural resource assets) as being at risk from climate change-related impacts. Such risks yield increasing complexity to park managers as decisions will have to be made regarding which resources can or should be retained in the landscape and which may be removed or allowed to deteriorate (Peek, et al., 2015). The potential decisions and compromises regarding cultural resources may be easier for stakeholders to digest if they are engaged in these discussions, and their place meanings and perceptions of climate vulnerability are considered (see Figure 2).

**Figure 2. Conceptualization of the influence of climate change on tangible cultural resources, and the influence of adaptation strategies taken to avoid those impacts on intangible cultural heritage.**
Climate change presents unprecedented challenges to the “core assumptions and traditional strategies of protected areas management around the globe” (Knapp, et al., 2014, p.1). Just as cultural values of protected landscapes and places are growing in importance to society, they are also increasingly at risk, suggesting that current management is not effective in a rapidly changing environment (Phillips, 2005). Coastal areas are some of the most vulnerable landscapes in the world in terms of climate change impacts, particularly from sea level rise and storm-related flooding and erosion (Poulter et al., 2009).

In North Carolina, the acceleration of sea level rise and increase in storm activity poses many threats to its coast; these threats include elevated tides, an increase in floods, escalating erosion, rising water tables, increased salinization, and countless ecological changes (Dolan & Walker, 2006). In addition, North Carolina’s coast is particularly vulnerable due to low, more than 5900 sq. km of land below one-meter elevation (Poulter et al., 2009).

According to James E. White III (2012), anyone who has lived on the coast of North Carolina for any period of time is aware of changes in sea level and the frequency of storms and “the havoc they can wreak” in coastal areas (White, 2012, p. 139). These observations reveal that there are both gradual impacts like sea level rise and “watershed moments” like hurricanes and other storms (Garry-Blake & Sabella, 2009, p. 3). Climate-related changes “pose some of the most significant practical and civic/governmental policy challenges” to management of natural and cultural resources on the barrier islands due to the range and intensity of impacts that can occur in this type of location (NPS, 2012, p. 11).

Barrier islands are inherently dynamic, and climate change is exacerbating already cumbersome

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9 The idea of stopping active management that would retain cultural resources on the landscape (“let go” or maintenance of cultural resources (NPS, 2012). Increased skepticism and hostility toward climate change efforts has been reflected in recent local elections and legislation in North Carolina, creating more challenges to managing climate impacts to cultural resources in the context of North Carolina’s politically contentious coast (Dow et al., 2013).

Given the risks to coastal cultural resources, a better understanding of cultural and heritage values, as well as place-based meanings, may provide some insight into how much change can be permitted in a landscape without affecting the integrity of the values attached to the area. Additionally, place-based meanings may help discern to what extent managers should “intervene to change, restore, or rebuild historic elements in the landscape” (Lennon, 2006, p.468) and in which cases resources can be “let go”.

**Cultural and Heritage Values and the Role of Place Meanings**

In a variety of ways, heritage and cultural values have central roles in societies, often contributing to identity formation and self-definitions (Stig-Sorensen & Carman, 2009). Heritage is valuable, not for intellectual purposes but for its symbolic and instrumental functions in society (de la Torre, 2002). Lennon (2006) suggests that managing protected areas is a social process that “takes place within communities of place and interest that are, in part, formed (and reformed) by their histories, cultures, institutions, economic circumstances and politics” (p. 41). It is this broader local context that managers and policymakers must consider when making decisions about collective resources (Lockwood et al., 2006).

Since landscapes are imbued with cultural meanings and have co-evolved with the human communities inhabiting them, Brown and others (2005) suggest that strategies are needed to “release” of a resource} is documented as a management strategy in Rockman et al. 2016).
“respond to the local context and its cultural, natural and social features” (p.4). Additionally, Scannell and Gifford (2010) argue, “culture links members to place through shared historical experiences, values, and symbols” (p. 2). Therefore, studying the values that people assign to places can be useful in understanding contextual and sociocultural aspects of planning (de la Torre, 2002).

The concept of cultural landscapes was developed to analyze the affiliations between cultural heritage values and natural features of the environment (Lennon, 2006). Viewing places as cultural landscapes acknowledges our two-way relationship with the environment in which nature and people interact to leave evidence of our history and affiliated tangible and intangible values (Phillips, 2005). Rossler (2005) also asserts, since cultural landscapes are a manifestation of the intersection of nature and culture, the meanings held in and relationships formed with these places are “the essence of culture and people’s identity” (p. 37).

Despite such symbolism within cultural landscapes, the various characteristics of places or landscapes and the interdependence of cultural and biological aspects make for a concept that is very difficult to embed in policy (Phillips, 2005). Davenport and Anderson (2005) describe the complex relationship between humans and the environment as representing “a spectrum of meaning and emotions” that is comprised of many interwoven and dynamic parts, which do not lend themselves to easy categorization or analysis (p. 627). Even if researchers are able to identify the assortment of heritage values attached to a landscape (de la Torre, 2002), the task still remains to apply these values to management plans in a way that treats nature, culture, and communities fairly (Lennon, 2006).

Despite the complexity in doing so, understanding these values and attitudes is critical to the design of management plans for protected places (Lockwood et al., 2006). The need for feasible plans for conserving culture and heritage is becoming increasingly urgent in a rapidly changing climate. Preservation of the cultural values embedded in physical resources requires a thorough understanding of the place meanings held by associated communities and other stakeholder groups. Moreover, cultural resource and historic preservation planners and managers need to address how changes to places and the physical resources within those places—including natural changes and management actions—will alter the meanings that those places hold (Lennon, 2006).

**Study Methods**

This research follows an interpretivist research design using inductive techniques to uncover cultural resource values and place meanings under changing climate conditions. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with community members with specific connections to at least one of the historic districts at CALO. Themes explored through these interviews include (1) the nature and strength of community members’ place attachments to CALO; (2) cultural resource values held by community members; (3) perceptions of resource vulnerability; (4) potential impacts to place meanings from climate change and adaptation; (5) preferences for adaptive strategies; and (6) perceptions of NPS-community relations.

**Sampling**

Strategic and chain referral sampling (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) were used to generate data with community members. The sampling goal was not to have a representative sample that can be quantified, but rather to gain in-depth

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10 We first compiled a list of individuals of former residents (owners or lessees) of Portsmouth Village and Cape Lookout Village, as well as their descendants. We expanded our sample to include other community members recommended by those on our list as having particularly strong connections to either historic district.
understanding of some key community connections to the cultural resources at CALO. The sampling criteria included individuals who lived in one of the historic districts (owning or leasing one of the buildings) and their descendants (strategic sampling), as well as individuals recommended by other participants to have vested interest in cultural resource management decisions (chain referral sampling). Sampling began with a list of individuals identified by park managers and the director of a NPS partner organization (Core Sound Waterfowl Museum and Heritage Center; located adjacent to CALO Headquarters). Then, each person interviewed was asked to identify other community members with strong connections to either of the villages. Additionally, those individuals who declined to participate in the study were asked to provide a rationale for not participating and to identify other community members with strong connections to either of the villages.

Our approach was to conclude sampling when thematic saturation (Creswell, 2003) was reached, which means that interviewing stopped once similar themes became repetitive within participants’ narratives. Although we feel we reached thematic saturation, in actuality we concluded sampling when the evolving list of contacts was exhausted, which includes failed attempts at contacting referred individuals.

Each individual was contacted by telephone and/or email (depending on contact information provided) to explain the purpose of the study and request their participation. If agreeable, a date was set for an in-person interview at a location convenient for the participant. Prior to interviewing, the study’s purpose was again explained and each individual was asked to sign an informed consent form which ensured that all participants understood the voluntary nature of the research and any risks or benefits they may receive from participating. No incentives for participation were provided.

Data Generation

Questions in the interview guide (Appendix A) were designed to be open-ended with the possibility for the interviewer to follow up with additional questions to elicit more detail or to clarify the meanings of previous statements (i.e., probing; Patton, 2002). The questions also include specific probes for information to evoke responses about certain subtopics if the subtopic did not arise during the initial response to the open-ended question. This approach minimizes bias (Patton, 2002).

Field notes of impressions regarding novel and reoccurring insights were made at the conclusion of each interview. All interviews were digitally audio-recorded then transcribed verbatim, omitting identifying information about participants or other individuals mentioned during an interview. Once transcribed, all audio-recordings were permanently deleted to enhance anonymity. All data generation procedures and instruments were approved by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB Control Number: 1024-0224) and the NC State University Institutional Review Board (IRB Protocol 6339) for research conducted with human subjects.

Data Analysis

The qualitative data generated from this research was analyzed through thematic analysis and coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Creswell, 2003). To prepare for analysis, two researchers independently read through all of the transcripts to gain a general idea of the information contained in the interviews in order to facilitate understanding of what participants were saying, what meanings were being conveyed, and the contextual tone of the interviews (Creswell, 2003). Then, the three-stage coding process described by Corbin and Strauss (2008), open, axial, and selective coding was initiated.

Open coding was used first to pinpoint themes, critical terms, and key events. During this step of
the process preliminary labels or codes were created as the first step toward condensing the data into manageable concepts and categories. Then, axial coding organized the initial codes and concepts by looking at interactions, thinking about causes and consequences, and identifying categories that can be combined. Finally, selective coding yielded major themes that guided the analysis. During selective coding, previously identified themes guided researchers’ combing through the data for illustrative cases and potential convergence or polarity (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

QSR N*VIVO software was used to enhance data organization during the coding and analysis process. Specifically, the software was used to explore the density of textual data within each code, as well as relationships among the themes. Study researchers made interpretations regarding the meanings and implications of the data (Creswell, 2003). These interpretations are the key study findings, presented by theme in the sections below. Researchers’ interpretations are supported by in-text quotes from the interviews and figures that visually represent the researchers’ interpretations. Additionally, additional supporting data (quotes) are provided in the Tables within Appendix B.

Findings

Participant Attributes

Thirty-six names were collected as potential participants for the study (12 were provided by the NPS, 15 were provided by the director of the partner organization, and 9 new names were provided by other participants). Of these 36 individuals, 22 had current contact information. 6 did not have current contact information, 5 did not respond to messages, and 3 did not wish to participate for reasons such as not feeling qualified, not having time or interest, and not being able to schedule an interview during the sampling period. Although the original sampling list for this study included only individuals with direct connections, the chain referral approach increased the breadth of our sample beyond just those who were residents or descendants of former residents. as we followed all suggested leads for people with “strong connections” to one or more of the districts. When thematic saturation was reached (i.e. no new themes were emerging from interviews), a total of eighteen participants had completed the interview process for this study. Thirteen participants were male, and five were female. Only three participants were under the age of 50, while the rest of the participants were between the ages of 50 and 85. Since we followed all suggested leads for people with ‘strong connections’ to one or more of the districts, individuals in the participant pool were connected to CALO in a variety of ways including: being born on the island, being descendants of former residents, having previously owned homes in one of the villages, growing up in the area and frequently visiting one or both districts, vacationing within the districts, and volunteering and/or working for the NPS within the districts. The types of connections and the number of participants who held that connection type, including whether their connections were to Portsmouth Village, Lookout Village, or both, are presented in Appendix B, Table 1. As connections are not discrete categories, individuals may hold multiple connection types.

Place Meanings & Cultural Resource Values

Cape Lookout holds deep and diverse meanings for the community members interviewed in this study. Sentimental values and the iconic community symbol of the Cape Lookout lighthouse contribute to the place meanings that evoke a sense of home and fill study participants with feelings of pride and deep affection for the park’s cultural resources. Participants associated their place meanings with a powerful spirit of heritage and fond memories of tradition. Additionally, CALO is meaningful to community members as a means of escape, or a sacred retreat; it is their favorite place to be, and they passionately described the special qualities that make CALO remarkable.
Community members have formed these place meanings through their relationship with CALO; this relationship has shaped their lives, and can inspire historical research or volunteerism. Additionally, volunteerism and working with the park can also create or intensify place meanings. In place meanings literature, place attachment is typically conceptualized as being made up of combined place identity and place dependence (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001), with place dependence representing the functional and activity related values of a place (Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989; Moore & Graefe, 1994) and place identity representing the deeper emotional, personal and symbolic meanings of a place (Proshansy, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983; Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989).

Additionally, research has revealed that place identity can take the form of individual identity, family identity, and/or community identity (Davenport & Anderson, 2005; Burley et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2012). In the following sections, these constructs of identities and dependence are exemplified by the following themes that emerged from our analysis of participant responses: home, heritage, and escape.

Cape Lookout is Home

For almost all participants, CALO, or what was frequently referred to as “The Cape,” was “home”. Whether they ever lived there or not, all participants reported that they felt at home at the Cape: “It’s home. I never lived there, but it’s home, I think.” (PARTICIPANT #1). Many described it as being a part of themselves; that is, participants’ sentiments of the Cape as “home” were linked to their personal, family, and community identities. Most participants had difficulty expressing in words how inextricable their lives were from their home, and one participant even described the Cape as being “part of the family.” Participants were proud of their home and could not imagine their lives without it.

In this context of CALO as “home,” participants also noted that the Lighthouse itself was a symbol or sentinel of this home:

“The Lighthouse obviously. It’s just been such a sentinel for so many years. And coming back from offshore, I used to do offshore charters, just seeing the Lighthouse as you come back in you knew you were home and you knew you were safe.” (PARTICIPANT #13)

While talking about the feelings they experienced seeing the lighthouse, many participants had tears in their eyes. They spoke with fondness of all of the ways in which the lighthouse symbol was represented through bumper stickers, flags, signs, and effigies of lighthouses in people’s yards. The lighthouse is such an important symbol of Cape Lookout as a home that it is essentially “revered by the locals” and “represents a building of stability” in a county that has experienced devastating weather conditions and declining economic prosperity. Although participants who were most closely connected to Cape Lookout Village associated more closely with the lighthouse, most participants identified it as a symbol of home. Even for participants who have moved away from the Down East region, CALO was still considered home regardless of where they were or what they were doing.

In addition to describing CALO as home, all but two participants expressed deep emotional ties to CALO and the intense sentimental values associated with the place and the memories made there. For most participants, CALO was a cherished place and an inextricable aspect of their lives and their identities. Participants often became choked up with emotion when discussing sentimental memories, including marriage proposals, weddings, funerals, births, and other important life events. Participants had difficulty articulating just how much they truly loved and cared for the place:
“It actually runs so deep within most of us that it’s like when we come off the island we’re depressed for like a month. And you’re so happy the next time… It’s hard to put into words what the place does for you.” (PARTICIPANT #18)

Participants also described the differences between “local” and “visitor” place connections. They noted that people who grew up on the island hold different values than people who visit or move “Down East” (the region east of Beaufort within Carteret County, NC) from elsewhere:

“You’ve got local people, people who’ve moved here but live here, and then tourists that come for a day or two. They all have different values. The people who have grown up here and live here feel a great ownership… This is our [place] over here. But, those people want our thing [place], you know?” (PARTICIPANT #14)

Similarly, participants commented on the differences in meanings for people who were born and raised in the area, people who moved to the area (“dingbatters”) (PARTICIPANT #16), and people who just visit to use CALO for recreation such as sport fishing. For folks who grew up “in the light” of the lighthouse, CALO is home. Participants explained that for people who did not grow up in the area, different meanings apply to their connections. Specifically, these participants explained that although non-locals may have deep ties and strong emotional connections to CALO that non-locals’ place meanings are different and less strong than those of people born and raised in the area.

**Heritage: Deep Roots, Family Memories, & Banks Tradition**

Concepts of heritage, ancestry, and roots were very common across all interviews. CALO has a rich history, and participants were proud of the area’s history as well as their ancestral histories. Many participants had family members who either lived or worked at CALO, ranging from members of the Life Saving Service and Coast Guard to commercial fishermen. Some participants explained that their ancestry even dates back to the very beginnings of Portsmouth as a shipping hub in colonial times, including references of ancestors who were whalers and ancestors who made a living from lightering. One participant actually had never lived in the CALO area and had only visited a few times, but felt connected to CALO through ancestry, heritage and family history alone. Concepts of heritage were strongly linked to participants’ individual and family identities.

Participants associated this sense of heritage with a connection to the ocean environment and harsh, seafaring lifestyles. In other words, participants identified heavily with local lineages and their way of life on “the Banks” (PARTICIPANT #1, 4, 7, 11, 13). Some participants also conveyed a sense of heritage regarding the use of CALO resources by their families, even if it only extended a few generations back. People who lived near CALO used the waters and land as a source of sustenance and a source of recreation, which indicates the existence of significant place dependence. For several participants, their heritage meanings revolve around their parents and grandparents fishing and clamming every weekend at the Cape. Collecting food, either from the sea or the land, was a very important part of many participants’ memories of CALO:

“Well it’s a fun place to go. And you could go and you could clam and you could fish and you could bring home something that you could actually eat. My family were not commercial fishermen. My dad was the postmaster so we went on weekends. We were sort of like tourists at CL.” (PARTICIPANT #17)

“It was a favorite fishing spot of Carteret County, Dare County…I’m talking about sport fishing now, as well as commercial. We’d go down there fishing on weekends or something of that nature and I’d carry some fish in, go to shore, carry some fish in and visit. Especially in May, that was
a time to get the blackberries. I’ve seen that
whole marsh black with blackberries. Of course,
the storm’s covered the vines now. But I
remember one time Dad and I picked two five
gallon buckets full of blackberries. We had a
gallon of juice in the bottom of each bucket.”
(PARTICIPANT #12)

Heritage meanings were also associated with
ancestors’ homes and family homes that
participants visited for weekends or summers:

“All the villages, all the people Down East,
Saturday morning, or Friday night, came home
after supper, after working all week, and started
going ready to either go to the Banks, to Drum
Inlet, Core Banks North or over here Dodge
Creek, or to the Cape. And the people on
Harker’s Island got ready to go to Shackleford.
And then on Saturday morning they got on their
boats and everybody went. And, so it was, it was
our life. It was our, our … it was our heritage
because from the 1800’s our ancestors lived over
there. So people that you talk to now, [have] all
the local names from Willis to Gaskill to Guthrie
to Lewis…” (PARTICIPANT #11)

Many community members who live in or grew up
in the areas surrounding CALO spent most or all of
their family vacations, summers, and/or weekends
at CALO. Additionally, many had family members,
or were themselves, commercial and/or
recreational fishermen. For most participants,
CALO was important for both work and play in their
family lives. Daily life, growing up and spending
family time with and near the Banks appeared to
hold special meaning for participants. In addition to
special memories with their own families,
participants also expressed a sense of community
friendship and connections to other families who
spent their time at CALO.

A common theme amongst almost all participants
who had connections to CALO from a young age
was that it was an integral part of growing up and
was the source of many of their childhood
memories. Not only was it and important part of
their lives, it was the place where they grew up,
whether they lived there or just visited on
weekends or summers. Especially for participants
who grew up in the area, CALO was critical to their
coming of age and formation of their identities;
CALO was always there, underlying what they
knew about life and themselves:

“Well growing up it was food, it was recreation,
it was just fun. It was that constant that was
always there. No matter what changed, the
lighthouse was there. And growing up people in
the community and the family fished and then
when you’re out there, the lighthouse was there,
you knew where you were in the ocean.”
(PARTICIPANT #4)

For many participants, most of their childhood
memories revolved around CALO. The stories they
heard as children were about CALO and their
family members who lived, worked, and recreated
there. As such, participants’ identities and
memories were very much entwined with CALO:

“So it was really a large portion of my upbringing
and a large portion of what implanted into my
brain when I was growing up. Just the pure
beauty and history and nature. Everything out
there. It was like a huge playground for a kid.”
(PARTICIPANT #13)

Additionally, participants expressed gratitude for all
of the stories they heard about the history of CALO
and, for some participants, their ancestors, and
many hoped to continue to pass these stories and
memories on to their children and grandchildren. It
is important to note that one participant, who
actually lived on Portsmouth Island as a child, did
not express any connections with or positive
associations to CALO, but rather had memories of
the harsh lifestyle and mainly felt connected
through ancestry and stories told by family
members and friends:
“The things I remember most were done with the adults. Like Dad in the fall of the year going out and building the duck blinds…and he would carry me with him occasionally if it weren’t freezing cold. But as a child I feared cattle, which were wild then and there was no fence law and they just roamed the island and they would scare me to death. Then the wild geese, all of the…old men, they had geese. And every bunch of geese you got a gander. And in the spring of the year, laying time…I had to choose my time to run across the road to the house across the road. And I remember one day, vividly remember, that the old gander got me…and they’ll run all crouched down with their neck right low to the ground with their mouth open, and when he gets hold of your butt, he got ya! Woo! You talk about a pinch! …But now as far as attachment, all I have is memories.” (PARTICIPANT #12)

**Escape: Spirituality, Recharging, and Recreation**

Participants described CALO as a “sacred retreat” (PARTICIPANT #15) where one can escape the stresses of daily life to recreate and recharge, often finding spiritual meaning through this act of escaping:

“You know…it’s just almost like sacred ground. It really is and not just from a fishing standpoint…So many of us that go out there, we literally treat the place like it’s sacred. I mean literally!” (PARTICIPANT #18)

Community members relish their trips to CALO where they can find peace, unwind, and find a brief respite from modern life. Visiting CALO provides community members with a very special feeling that cannot be found elsewhere. CALO is a place where they can spend true quality time with their families or just themselves; it is a place for both great family enjoyment and quiet personal reflection. In addition to providing fun and recreation, CALO is also a place where people can reconnect with themselves; participants described its healing power and its improvement of their mental health:

“On a personal level, it’s sanity. I actually go there to regain my sanity…Reflect, have awesome memories, not just personal fishing memories, but memories of people and events and times.” (PARTICIPANT #18)

This reliance on CALO for recreation and maintenance of mental health also suggests the existence of distinct elements of place dependence within community members, none of whom could imagine successfully substituting another place as the location to carry out these activities.

**Intangible Cultural Resource Values**

The many cultural resource values held by community members contribute to strong connections to CALO. History and family memories, growing up and existing with the sea, fishing and hunting tradition, recreation, spirituality, and powerful emotional and sentimental values all make CALO an incomparable venue in which to live, work and play. Several participants also expressed that the people of CALO (community members) are the true cultural resource, as they hold these values within themselves. Relationships between community members’ cultural values and associated place meanings are illustrated in Figure 3. Additional evidence of the cultural resource values identified by participants in relation to traditional CRM cultural resource values are displayed in Appendix B, Table 2.

**Unique Elements of CALO**

When prompted to describe the cultural resources of CALO, participants identified several values, or elements, that are unique to CALO. These unique elements were: (1) Banks way of life; (2) beauty; (3) difficult to reach; (4) human vs. nature; (5) isolation, solitude & tranquility; (6) a magical/special quality;
(7) nature & ecology; (8) rawness; and (9) a resilient, isolated community.

These elements identified by participants align with most of the Cape Lookout Foundation Document (NPS, 2012), particularly the intangible values; these relationships can be viewed in Appendix B, Table 3.

**Physical Cultural Resources**

In terms of buildings, the methods used for this project do not allow us to determine which resources are *most* important due to the fact that participants have specific connections to certain buildings within the districts as well as certain types of buildings, and even connections to the districts as a whole. Unsurprisingly, the lighthouse stood out as the most salient building since it is representative of CALO as “home” for the community. When prompted to discuss cultural resources, two participants expressed that it is also important to preserve the NPS buildings such as docks, pavilions, restrooms, and walkways so as to make sure that everyone can efficiently access the historic buildings and other landscape resources.

Buildings in each district that were specifically mentioned are displayed in Figure 4.

**Federal Maritime Buildings**

The Cape Lookout Lighthouse. The Lighthouse on CALO was, by far, the most commonly mentioned cultural resource. The building holds an immense amount of meaning for the community and serves as a symbol of their home and their heritage. For people in the Down East community, the lighthouse signifies safety and comfort, while eliciting strong feelings from participants. One participant stated:

“There’s a place that you round the corner and the lighthouse starts, and I get goosebumps every time. So it’s just something that we love because it represents our home. And the thought of it ever not being there, it just can’t be.”

(PARTICIPANT #4)

It was truly unimaginable for participants to picture CALO without the lighthouse. For all but one participant, the lighthouse was the “obvious”
choice for the most important building to be preserved. Many participants mentioned the profuse number of lighthouse symbols on local people’s cars, homes, mailboxes, gravestones, businesses, etc. The lighthouse was often described as sacred, and as being revered by the community.

“I learned at an early age it’s revered, and you’ve heard that too, it’s revered by the locals. It’s their lighthouse…I’ve learned in studying this stuff that it represents a building of stability. We’ve been through the storms, we’ve weathered every kind of situation you can weather, and since 1859 that has stood like a rock. So people revere it.” (PARTICIPANT #15)

While participants appreciated that the lighthouse brings tourism dollars to their community, tourists’ motivations are dissimilar than those with ties to the park. For example, one participant felt that when people come to climb the lighthouse just to check off another lighthouse on their sightseeing tour, it is almost “sacred” (PARTICIPANT #1) because it holds so much meaning for the community, as “the lighthouse is just brick unless you know what’s going on there and who’s been there and what’s taken place there” (PARTICIPANT #1).

Other Federal Maritime Buildings. In addition to the lighthouse, the rest of the federal maritime buildings were also very important to the community members. Many had family members who were part of the Lifesaving Service and/or the Coast Guard. Buildings that were listed as important components of this federal maritime history included the Keeper’s Quarters at the lighthouse, the Lifesaving Station on Portsmouth, the Coast Guard Station in Lookout Village, the gun mounts, and the Barden House (1907 Keeper’s Quarters). Reasons cited for the importance of these buildings included ancestry, national history, local history, and maritime tradition and culture.

Historic Districts

Lookout Village. Most participants expressed the thought that Lookout Village itself is a very important cultural resource. While Lookout Village did not have many full-time residents aside from servicemen and lacks the longer history and

![Diagram](image-url)

Figure 4. Specific tangible cultural resources mentioned by participants.
residency patterns of Portsmouth, it had its own culture of part-time residents, second-home owners, servicemen and their families, and weekend or summer vacationers:

“You start getting into the houses…and all the people there fished and hunted, so that whole area was sort of a thriving community at one time… All the people there, if you counted up the number of people that had houses helped, it would be staggering.” (PARTICIPANT #2)

Since there are not many houses left in the village, participants feel that it is important to preserve those buildings that are still standing:

“You know the village is a huge, huge part of that island that needs to stay there. I hope that history can be maintained.” (PARTICIPANT #18).

“There’s not that many houses left in the village. So I think they’re all important.” (PARTICIPANT #3)

Lookout Village was perceived to be of such importance to the local community, that several community members banded together and consulted preservation and legal experts when they heard rumor that the park was going to tear down the houses in the village. They completed the process and successfully lobbied for the buildings in the building to be added to the National Register:

“It’s on the National Register and the folks, it was not the NPS who did the nomination, it was local people who did the nomination. And they did that to try to save some of the houses.” (PARTICIPANT #14)

**Portsmouth Village.** Portsmouth Village, with its long history stretching back to colonial times, is a very important cultural resource for the CALO community. The history of lightering and whaling, the postal service history, and the Lifesaving Service reflect the culture of the seafaring residents of the island throughout the decades. Several participants can trace their ancestry back to Portsmouth’s oldest generations; their ancestors are buried in the graveyards, and many of their homes still stand. The homes and other buildings in the village paint a picture of how people lived on this tiny strip of sand in the sea:

“I think they recognize the historic value of those buildings and of Portsmouth because it’s—you go there and you can see how life was. And you have to live that life because there’s not a lot of conveniences there. So I think it’s important in that way.” (PARTICIPANT #3)

Some buildings like the federal maritime and community buildings stand out at Portsmouth as being highly significant, but participants expressed that the value in the village does not come from any particular building, but from the amalgamation of all of the buildings put together:

“Portsmouth does a very good job of recreating what living there might have been like. And that’s not done in any one building, but the combination of buildings… It’s the whole picture that gives you that story. One building could not do it all.” (PARTICIPANT #1)

Participants value the “village feeling” of Portsmouth and how it communicates the history and culture that developed on the island throughout time. Specifically, participants expressed that in addition to the historic value of the buildings themselves, the context of the landscape and the relationships between the buildings combined with the history of the community’s use of the buildings and the landscape create a kind of cultural story that can almost be felt when in the village:

“I mean, I still get chills, there are still places that you can almost sense the history. And I love history, so I’m the kind of
Community Buildings. Community buildings were also very important to participants, particularly the Portsmouth Church, the post office, the school, and graveyards. These buildings were important to participants because they are representative of how the communities living on CALO functioned and how they shared their lives so close to each other and so close to the sea. Additionally, although it is not on the National Register, several participants mentioned that they believed Les and Sally Moore’s building should be considered a historic building since it was a valuable and vibrant part of the Lookout Village community. Many community members lamented the fact that the building had been rehabilitated and slated to become an educational center, but the educational center project was abandoned and the building has not been used since.

Community buildings represent much of what participants valued about CALO and the spirit of community among its residents. Participants also noted that while each of these community buildings has their own importance, the true value lies in the use of these buildings by the community and the part they played in the community as a whole:

“It’s a village and the village as a whole is interconnected. Some people would say the Coast Guard Station. But then you’re leaving out the church. Some people would say the church, but then the post office/general store is where everybody gathered. Then of course you’ve got the schoolhouse, which educated so many of the kids. So you can’t do one without leaving out the others. And then you’ve got the houses where the people lived.” (PARTICIPANT #4)

Residential Buildings. Some personal homes were listed by participants as having importance as well. Some participants noted the importance of personal homes in general:

“I think it’s important to save those type of buildings so that people can understand what the people that used to live on these islands and make their living from whaling and fishing, what they lived in, what their life was like.” (PARTICIPANT #13).

A few participants expressed that they thought their own personal homes and ancestors’ homes were important, but acknowledged that it was only their personal experience that made it so. Most of the importance associated with personal homes was related to how people who lived in them led their lives and made their living from the sea and interacted with the rest of the community. Personal homes that were mentioned specifically were the Coca-Cola House, Casa Blanca (Baker-Holderness House), the Gilgo House, Henry Pigott House, the Styrren-Bragg House, and the Wallace House.

Other Landscape Features. A few elements of the landscape were listed by participants as being important cultural resources. Two participants indicated that the dunes were important features of the landscape as functional protective purposes and for their aesthetic value. One participant mentioned the importance of the hook and the point of the cape; both of these landscape features were valued for their beauty, uniqueness, and their importance to the fishing culture on the island. However, cultural landscape elements that help define the districts, as conceptualized by the NPS, were not mentioned.

Conditions of Buildings

Participants’ perceptions of the conditions of the historic buildings were widely varied. Some participants commented on buildings they perceived to be in poor conditions while others mentioned buildings they perceived to be in good condition. Interviews revealed that participants have noticed both deterioration and improvements. Overall, interview data show that Portsmouth
Village buildings are viewed as being in generally better condition than the buildings in Lookout Village, with the exception of the lighthouse complex, which is described as being in excellent condition. The Baker-Holderness House (Casa Blanca) and the Coast Guard Station in Lookout Village are described as being in particularly bad condition. No specific Portsmouth Village buildings were identified as being in poor condition. Details of participants’ perceptions of structural conditions are provided in Appendix B, Table 4.

Comparing Districts

Many participants commented on the various differences between the two historic districts on CALO. In terms of access, participants noted that while Portsmouth is more difficult to reach, once you are there, many buildings can be accessed, and the displays inside can be viewed. While the Lookout Village area is a little easier to get to via the ferry at the park headquarters, once you are on the island it is difficult to get to the village without a vehicle, and many visitors are not even aware that the village exists. Participants expressed disappointment that even when you do reach the village, all of the buildings and houses are padlocked and can only be viewed from outside.

Participants described historical differences between the two villages in that Portsmouth was a community of mostly permanent residents for a very long time compared to Lookout Village, which is a younger village in which most of the houses were used by families visiting their Coast Guard relatives and people staying in the village for weekends or during the summers. Physical differences mentioned by participants include the actual landscape of the two districts with Portsmouth being very low and wet, like a “mud pie” (PARTICIPANT #5) while Lookout is on much higher ground, protected by groves of large trees. Participants often explained that Portsmouth has much more of a village feeling whereas Lookout is made up of seemingly disconnected buildings.

Participants also discussed differences in the treatments of the two districts by the NPS. It was very clear to participants that the investments made at Portsmouth are far greater than those made at Lookout:

“When you walk into Portsmouth Village it looks pristine… It looks very well cared for, very well maintained, very pretty. Not so much in the Lookout Village. It looks like a ghost town…it looks kind of bad. It doesn’t look cared for. It looks like, ‘Ok, it’s here.’” (PARTICIPANT #13)

Participants were certainly very appreciative of the amount of work and money that has gone into the repairs and the interpretive displays at Portsmouth, but many were disappointed that the same funding and effort has not been applied to Lookout Village as well. Details of district comparisons are in Appendix B, Table 5.

Perceptions of Vulnerability and Change

Climate Change Perceptions

Overall, there was unanimous acceptance of the fact that climate change and sea level rise are occurring and will likely impact CALO. Several participants even offered personal examples of how they could see climate change impacts already occurring at CALO. Most participants expressed a belief that climate-related impacts were inevitable, citing various reasons including the dynamic nature of barrier islands and a belief that we can’t fight nature. Some participants mentioned that historic buildings may be resilient to weather and climate since they have ‘lasted this long’, but still expressed concerned about maintenance issues. Even though participants overwhelmingly believed that impacts and changes were inevitable, they maintained hope that some effort will be made to maintain the cultural resources as long as possible. In terms of climate change and sea level rise, many participants felt that these would be the worst impacts, but some noted that, while they accepted inevitable climate impacts, they did not
imagine them to be significant in their lifetime and were more concerned about more immediate issues.

More immediate threats to the historic buildings mentioned by participants included neglect, vandalism, storms and weather events, flooding, erosion, and changes in population and visitors. Additionally, some participants expressed concerned with a fading awareness of the history due to the aging community that still has connections to CALO. Climate change related threats were all deemed to be very severe threats to CALO’s cultural resources, but these types of threats were also considered unavoidable. Some participants stated that the true threat and the only one that could be managed, is neglect. A few participants gave the impression that natural threats like weather and climate were less offensive than threats from neglect. It was as though they would rather lose to Mother Nature than to an inability to properly maintain the cultural resources. Evidence of these vulnerability perceptions can be found in Appendix B, Table 6.

**Timing is Everything**

Participants expressed that the identified threats exist in different temporal contexts, as illustrated in Figure 5. Threats fell roughly into the categories of immediate threats (next 25 years), mid-range threats (25-50 years from now), and long-range threats (more than 50 years from now). Neglect, vandalism, and weather events were considered to be immediately threatening CALO’s cultural resources. Participants felt that erosion and flooding were more likely to occur within the mid-range timeline since their effects were more gradual. Also within the mid-range timeline (i.e., in the next 25-50 years), it was suggested that most of the people with strong connections to CALO would likely die, leaving descendants who do not necessarily hold the same strong connections to the villages. Sea level rise impacts were perceived to be a more distant threat, likely within 50-100 years.

While sea level rise was considered a very dangerous threat to CALO, most participants were more concerned about immediate threats such as neglect and storms&weather events. Storms and weather were perceived to be the greatest threat overall, as they are unavoidable. Participants expected either extreme weather or at least one extreme storm in their lifetime. For most participants, weather was a much more urgent threat than sea level rise; they imagined that the elements would mostly likely cause destructive impacts long before the sea level rises enough to make significant impacts. Evidence illustrating these perceived threats can be found in Appendix B, Table 7.
Preferences for Adaptive Strategies

Types of Actions

When discussing types of actions that could be taken to adapt to climate impacts, participants identified several different types of actions and described the action’s viability (Appendix B, Tables 8-9). In terms of structural and landscape changes, there was some support for beach nourishment as one of the least invasive actions that could be taken to slow the effects of erosion. Beach nourishment is the manual deposition of sand to replace sand that was lost from storm-related erosion or long-shore drift to provide a buffer against future storm surge. Although it is considered a soft measure and often preferred to hard fixes, like fixed seawalls and groins that alter the aesthetics of a landscape and tend to have negative impacts on adjacent stretches of shoreline, beach nourishment is contested because (a) it can negatively impact the flora and fauna of the area and (b) it is not a one-time fix but rather typically one that must be continued every few years. The preferred but contested nature of beach nourishment is exemplified in the following quote: “I’d say [beach] nourishment is very good. And that’s not popular all over the country.” (PARTICIPANT #13)

Few participants supported elevating or moving buildings, providing the rationale that it was preferable to complete loss of the buildings. However, more participants were not supportive of these drastic measures, explaining that it would take away from the character and integrity of the historic districts. Additionally, some participants were receptive to one of these actions but not the other. Those who preferred elevating buildings felt that it was more important to keep the buildings in their context, while those who preferred moving buildings felt that aesthetics and structural integrity were of upmost importance. In general, participants perceived that engineered solutions would likely have unintended consequences to the historic value imbued within the districts.

The most popular strategy involving structural changes was increased restoration and maintenance to strengthen the buildings against current and future impacts. Such restoration and maintenance can be considered a way to improve the resilience, or more appropriately the adaptive capacity, of the building to the near-term threats identified by participants. Additionally, an increase in interpretation including more public displays, documentation, research and oral histories, signage for non-extant buildings, and enhanced public awareness of Lookout Village was typically viewed more favorably than costly structural or landscape adaptations. Details of responses regarding structural and landscape changes can be found in Appendix B, Table 8, and responses related to interpretation/documentation as an adaptive action in Appendix B, Table 9.

Prioritization Strategies

Participants suggested several different strategies that the NPS could use for decision-making when not all buildings could be simultaneously maintained, restored or adapted. These strategies fell into three broader categories: building-based prioritization, value-based prioritization, and collaborative prioritization. Participants also commented on the importance of making plans with short and long-term goals:

“Take all of the items that need to be done…and write ‘em down, and say, ‘This is what needs to be done,’ and then rank ‘em…So you have short-term goals and then you have long-term goals...this is what we need to accomplish in a year, this is what we need to accomplish in maybe the next five years, and then over the next ten years...And then actually work at setting out and accomplishing those goals. I don’t think that they have goals like that.” (PARTICIPANT #7)

Building-based prioritization strategies include prioritizing by age of the building (though some participants did not think age should be the most important factor), by the current condition of the
building, and by how much money has previously been invested in a building. Value-based strategies for prioritization suggested typically considered the historical/cultural significance of the building and representation of the traditional use of the “Banks” (i.e., CALO’s chain of barrier islands, like Core Banks). Participants’ suggestions related to collaborative prioritization strategies emphasized the critical need to communicate with the local communities, consult experts, and establish cooperation and partnerships with invested stakeholders. Supporting data regarding these strategies can be found in Appendix B, Table 10.

Other Advice for Adapting

In addition to specific actions and prioritization strategies, some participants also provided general advice for planners developing adaptive strategies (Appendix B, Table 11). For example, they advised that there is only so much the NPS can do and that it is important to acknowledge budget constraints, accept that most measures are temporary, and understand that sometimes the best strategy is to just let nature take its course. Participants also expressed the importance of understanding the ramifications of adaptive measures and cautioned that changes can have unintended consequences and that half-measures can be more wasteful than helpful in trying to adapt.

Planning ahead was an important theme that emerged, and participants urged planners to ensure that they follow through with the plans they make (i.e., negative sentiments about the fact that the last Cape Lookout Village Plan, which included third-party use of the buildings, was never instituted). Participants also commented on the importance of making plans with short and long-term goals to keep up with environmental changes. Moreover, participants adamantly emphasized the importance of public involvement in order to have success in adaptive planning. They stated that it is essential to get people interested and invested in preservation. Several people also suggested that using the buildings in some way, such as rehabilitating houses to be leased to private individuals or converting larger homes and/or community buildings into classrooms and outdoor educational facilities, would bolster interest and support for preservation and adaptation efforts. Examples of advice and insights regarding adaptation strategies can be found in Appendix B, Table 11.

Impacts to Place Meanings

While most participants expressed that there would be a sense of loss, or “sadness” associated with losing the existing buildings at CALO, almost all participants indicated that their feelings, meanings, and connections would always remain intact. A conceptualization of the impacts, both positive and negative, to participants’ place meanings is illustrated in Figure 6.

In terms of physical buildings, the greatest detrimental impacts to their place meanings would be related to the loss of buildings, particularly the lighthouse, the Portsmouth church, and other community buildings. A few participants expressed sadness over the thought of losing individual family homes. However, much of the pain and loss of meaning with regards to personal homes climaxed during the initial acquisition of the land by the state and eventually the National Park Service. The most pain/loss of meaning for many participants occurred when their leases ran out and they truly “lost” their house forever. As though they had already mourned the loss of their homes and their personal connections, participants described the sense of loss in the past tense, and many noted that climate impacts would not affect their connections to CALO, the community, or their heritage. Some who lost homes said they would not be affected because the meaning had already been lost when their lease ended.
Participants seemed to have more negative feelings about the loss of cultural integrity from neglect than loss from natural causes. Additionally, participants expressed concern regarding future generations and how impacts to the cultural resources and place meanings might affect meanings for future generations of their families. As previously mentioned, while there was some support for adaptive measures such as beach nourishment, most participants did not see the point in raising or moving buildings since nature would reclaim them all eventually anyway. Instead, many participants tended to support restoration and maintenance measures to keep the cultural resources in the best condition possible while remaining on the landscape. Some of the participants expressed that extreme measures like raising or moving buildings would not enhance place connections but rather be detrimental to their place meanings.

Impacts to Personal, Family & Community Identity: Emotional but not Lost Connections

Most participants expressed that impacts, climate change related or otherwise, to the buildings and landscape of CALO would cause them great sadness and grief given the ways in which their personal and family identities are connected with the resources. Citing that connections to CALO are

![Figure 6. Impacts to place meanings.](image-url)
rife with emotionally-laden issues and sentimental feelings about the park, some participants noted that they often feel quite anxious about the cultural resources on the island, especially during storms:

“I think it would be a very bad thing for all of us, I think we’d be terribly sentimental and very emotional about it. And even now when we have a hurricane, I’m not usually worried about us, about my house right now, about my mother’s house, but I think about Portsmouth. One of the first things I do is call up after a hurricane and ask, ‘how did Portsmouth do?’” (PARTICIPANT #7)

Additionally, the majority participants explained that their connections to CALO would remain intact no matter what happens to the buildings or landscape: “The love that I have for the island will still be there” (PARTICIPANT #7). Yet, when probed about the lighthouse in particular, participants were reluctant to even imagine a situation in which the lighthouse would no longer be standing. Even so, participants stood by their statements that while changes would be emotionally devastating, their memories and the island’s history will still be there and, therefore, their connection to the place would remain.

Some participants expressed the opinion that physical impacts to the landscape and buildings have the potential to impact community members and their cultural meanings:

“I’m talking about the lighthouse itself, or if something happened to the keeper’s quarters, or any of the other buildings. That would obviously be a devastating blow to the cultural side of things.” (PARTICIPANT #13)

While participants acknowledge the potential impact to cultural meanings, these same participants also express that their personal connections would remain intact.

Most of the concern expressed over loss of physical resources and changes to the landscape was related to future generations and the fact that they might not be able to experience CALO with all of its resources intact:

“I just really hope and pray that we can somehow maintain those buildings so our, your children, and my grandchildren can actually see those places and walk up and touch these things and touch history. ‘Cause you’re touching history.” (PARTICIPANT #18)

These participants feel that it is important to preserve cultural resources for future generations so that the history and memories are not lost with their generation. For example, one participant suggested that implementing a plan to make sure the historic buildings endure would not only leave the option open for younger generations to form their own connections to CALO but also strengthen connections to the park and the resources for those already connected.

**Impact on Place Meanings from Adaptation Strategies**

One participant said that their place meanings would be altered by climate impacts and potential adaptive strategies:

“Well I can’t imagine the Portsmouth church up on stilts. I just can’t imagine it! Nor can I imagine it in downtown Harker’s Island, or downtown Ocracoke or somewhere. I just can’t imagine it there. It would lose its soul.” (PARTICIPANT #16)

Again, although other participants stated that their place meanings would remain intact, they were not in favor of raising or moving buildings.

Several participants explained that they did not associate loss with climate impacts, but they did associate feelings of great loss and incredible grief related to the acquisition of the park by the state and eventually the NPS. These feelings of loss were felt most acutely when the leases on the
homes expired and homeowners had to abandon their houses. Even so, most of these participants still felt a great connection to CALO and did not feel that climate impacts would affect their place meanings, especially since they had already experienced great loss when they gave up their houses. Essentially, these participants felt that if their connections survived the loss of their homes, they would certainly survive impacts from climate change that were considered unavoidable in the long run.

Additionally, three participants disclosed that climate change wouldn’t impact their place meanings because they did not have any place meanings to impact. All three of these participants had completely different reasons for this lack of meaning. One participant was not interested in historic resources as much as natural resources, and actually would prefer that the buildings were not there so that the natural ecosystem could take over. Another participant did not feel any connections to CALO once he moved away from the island as a child. The third participant felt that he no longer had any place meanings to impact because CALO lost all meaning to him when the leases expired and his family lost their home in Cape Lookout Village.

National Park Service – Community Relations

General Evaluations

Overall, participants described the relationship between the NPS and the CALO community as being a very “up and down” relationship, but that communication and the relationship as a whole has improved over time. Negative feelings about the NPS developed among the community members due to hostility related to the land acquisition and a bad start to the relationship in which the community perceived communication to be nonexistent. Due to their contentious beginnings, the CALO community still has some lingering mistrust when it comes to the NPS and their ability to make decisions that will positively affect individuals with strong connections to the historic villages.

Despite the many tensions that have existed between the Park Service and the CALO community, the sometimes volatile nature of that relationship, and the negative feelings about the NPS’s management of the buildings, participants overwhelmingly felt that the Park is infinitely preferable to private development. Even participants who had expressed deep feelings of loss over the land acquisition understood that if CALO had not been created, the islands would likely have become subject to the same type of development as the rest of the Outer Banks and nearby Atlantic Beach. Many participants conveyed a sense of gratitude that the NPS was able to keep the islands’ natural and cultural resources available for everyone to enjoy rather than only accessible to wealthy beachgoers through private development. For example, one participant asserted that they would most certainly rather have the park than another “condo coast” (PARTICIPANT #13). Details of these evaluations and supporting quotations can be found in Appendix B, Table 12.

Specific Community Perceptions of the NPS

In addition to the general perceptions described above, participants shared an abundance of specific perceptions about the NPS and their actions (Appendix B, Tables 13-14). Positive perceptions were in reference to the many benefits of having CALO as a NPS unit such as nature preservation, maintenance and upkeep, contributions to the local economy, and the experience of having a NPS superintendent as a “local champion” who truly cares about the resource and the community. Negative perceptions were related to access, bureaucracy, exclusion, communication, and leadership.

Suggestions for Enhancing Relations

Participants shared several suggestions for improving relations between the NPS and the
CALO community (Appendix B, Table 15). In particular, participants expressed the importance of understanding that CALO is a complex resource with a complex community attached to it, and that to understand both of them, it is essential to become involved in the community and have real, honest discourse with community members. Community members suggest that the NPS must take the time to listen to stakeholders and foster local community involvement at the highest level possible. On the other hand, some participants also suggested that the community could also improve their communication skills (i.e., more constructively communicate their values and needs with the NPS). Additionally, participants often commented on the significance of involving and working with partner organizations and volunteers to supplement the NPS’s limited resources.

Implications

This study revealed that the study participants (whom we frequently refer to as “community members”) have strong place meanings associated with the cultural resources with the two historic districts at Cape Lookout National Seashore (CALO). Our findings also revealed strong opinions regarding strategies for adapting the resources to reduce the negative impacts of climate change threats. This study found that participants’ place meanings are formed by intangible cultural resource values, suggesting that intangible values should be a principal consideration in future planning efforts regarding the cultural resources at CALO. Specifically, the strong place meanings and culturally-situated vulnerability perceptions and management preferences described by participants emphasizes the importance of integrating community perspectives into planning efforts. This recommendation is particularly important when planning and decision-making have the potential to impact the deep connections of a community of stakeholders, such as when managers are prioritizing cultural heritage preservation efforts and/or planning the implementation of climate adaptation actions.

Our study also revealed an acceptance of climate change impacts to the resources within the historic districts; yet, climate impacts beyond hurricanes and Nor’easters were not seen as imminently threatening. The community members interviewed were most vocally concerned about immediate impacts of deferred maintenance (what they consider to be “neglect”). Impacts to the historic buildings were perceived to exist in three different temporal contexts: immediate threats (neglect; weather & storms), mid-range threats (flooding & erosion; aging community), and long-range threats (sea level rise). Neglect was seen as one of the only threats that can be directly addressed with increased maintenance and restoration; other threats were seen as unavoidable.

In other words, the community members interviewed expressed both (a) an awareness of climate exposure that threaten the long-term persistence of CALO’s resources and (b) the perception that any adaptive measures are temporary. However, it is important to stress that community members perceive the importance of maintaining the historic buildings in good condition for as long as possible. Future research is needed to determine the threshold criteria for determining when to stop maintaining the historic buildings at CALO (and other coastal sites) in the face of impending climate change impacts.

Additionally, our study revealed that community members’ connections to the historic districts would not likely be affected by unavoidable acts of nature. Yet community members’ connections are community voices may be missing. Future quantitative research (e.g., survey questionnaire) could provide a better understanding of the extent to which the sentiments and perspectives revealed in this study are represented within the “Down East” community.
affected by issues of deferred maintenance, as these perceptions of neglect were viewed as an affront to their cultural heritage and identities. Moreover, we found minimal support for many adaptation strategies that could increase the persistence of the historical buildings on the landscape. For example, we found minimal support among our participants for raising and moving buildings, as they would prefer to maintain cultural contexts and see resources directed toward increased maintenance to retain integrity and increase longevity of the buildings. We also documented a desire for adaptive reuse of historic buildings, as participants suggested that leasing for commercial or educational purposes would enable the new connections to be made within the younger generations of an aging community as well as among the greater public.

It is also important to note that the study participants view the NPS as being a positive force at CALO; they envision that without the NPS intervention, CALO would have been sold to developers and privatized for the wealthy. In other words, the existence of the park is perceived as having saved CALO from becoming inaccessible by community members. Participants specifically called for the inclusion of community values and voices in planning. Although the community members interviewed described a contentious and often negative relationship with the National Park Service, they also felt that community involvement in future planning efforts would not only improve the park–community relationship but also foster local fundraising to offset the cost of ongoing maintenance. Acknowledging the place meanings and cultural values of the connected community revealed in this study could be a starting point for such external fundraising activities and future climate adaptation planning efforts. It seems that such engagement would be particularly necessary for any type of prioritization-based decision-making, as community members were reluctant to identify specific buildings beyond the iconic lighthouse. Such inclusion of and consultation with the community in future planning efforts will likely provide community members a sense of support and validation while also enabling managers to better access community members’ place meanings that may not yet be documented. Developing climate change adaptation strategies based on the cultural values that make a place or landscape meaningful to a community will also likely benefit managers who are struggling to maintain large cultural resource inventories in vulnerable coastal areas, particularly given the ongoing fiscal constraints facing cultural resource management.

In summary, this study’s findings suggest that employing an inclusive, collaborative approach to planning and management has the potential to alleviate tension and conflicts and build trust between the community and cultural resource managers. Participants’ suggestions for adaptation and prioritization strategies reveals opportunities for managers to better incorporate cultural values into planning and to increase engagement through collaborative preservation and prioritization. Study findings regarding connections to intangible cultural resource values suggest that managers should integrate evaluations of these intangible values and associated meanings into planning to determine which strategies will least affect cultural heritage values and identities. In this case, participants expressed a preference for short-term maintenance and increased interpretation and documentation.

Concluding Remarks & Future Considerations

Although the results of this study are not necessarily representative of all community connections to cultural resources, this research does provide insight into the nature of communities’ connections to cultural resources and their preferences for management. These insights demonstrate:

- Community members believe that climate change is occurring.
• Community members accept the inevitability of impacts to physical cultural resources.
• Community members prefer cultural resources to be maintained in the condition and location at which they were acquired.
• Managers need to determine when particular buildings no longer viable and thus cease investment in those buildings.
  o Collaborative planning opportunities with Down East community members could provide insight into determining when a cultural resource has reached this point.
• Community members’ place meanings can be influenced by climate impacts, but they are more likely to be negatively impacted by perceived neglect of buildings or undesirable adaptive actions.
• Involving the community in planning processes helps preserve cultural resource values and increases opportunities for younger generations to experience CALO’s cultural resources.
• Incorporating community values, meanings and heritage into management strategies can enrich the preservation of both tangible and intangible connections to cultural resources, as well as help retain community place meanings in the context of a changing climate.

Although participants accepted that cultural resources will inevitably be lost to future climate impacts, they still want the NPS to maintain and interpret the buildings. Community members had great difficulty delineating specific guidelines to determine when a building is beyond repair or how to decide when climate impacts would render a building so vulnerable that continued investment would be futile. If loss is inevitable as participants explained, then there must be a point when a resource has to be deemed beyond saving. Future research regarding cultural resources and climate change adaptation should attempt to ascertain the point at which investment in a vulnerable resource is no longer practical or worthwhile.

Such studies would also enable the allocation of limited funds to the maintenance of more salvageable buildings, as there was an acceptance that letting nature take its course would eventually be the only viable course of action. An expanded version of our threats timeline (Figure 5) with stages of structural degradation included could be used as a tool for managers and community members to decide where cost surpasses cultural value.

Participants also had difficulty making firm commitments regarding prioritization, as they hoped that all buildings could be maintained while simultaneously acknowledging the implausibility of this goal. Although our participants were able to prioritize short-term maintenance over drastic measures for long-range climate threats, they were unable to choose which buildings should be kept and which should be let go.

Some participants conceded that community and federal maritime buildings should probably take precedence; however, these individuals also discussed the importance of the whole village context and were, therefore, still unwilling to name any specific buildings that should be relinquished to the forces of nature. Further research should aim to find a way for community members and managers to reach a consensus as to how cultural assets should be ranked.

As our participants suggested that prioritization decisions should be value-based, be collaborative, and incorporate local knowledge and voices; these suggestions may provide a basis for future research to better aid managers who are tasked with making difficult prioritization decisions. Community members’ recommendations for inclusive planning processes suggest that they are willing to enter into conversations about prioritization, which indicates an opportunity for NPS managers to foster the development of collective solutions for defining specific prioritization criteria.
References Cited


Appendix A: Interview Guide

The following questions will guide semi-structured interviews with key informants from individuals with access to community groups with associations/ties to Cape Lookout National Seashore (CALO). The questions are designed to be open-ended and for interviewers to follow-up at any time with questions such as, “Can you describe that in more detail?” “What did you mean when you said, xxx?” Additional probes for specific information are included below to elicit responses about specific subtopics if the subtopic did not arise during the initial response to the open-ended questions.

**Paperwork Reduction and Privacy Act Statement:** The National Park Service is authorized by 54 USC 100702 to collect this information. This information will be used by park managers to understand the perceptions of partner organizations concerning the cultural resources of Cape Lookout National seashore. Responses to this request are voluntary and anonymous. Your name will never be associated with your answers, and all contact information will be destroyed when the data collection is concluded. No action may be taken against you for refusing to supply the information requested. An agency may not conduct or sponsor, and a person is not required to respond to, a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number and expiration date.

**BURDEN ESTIMATE STATEMENT:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 60 minutes per response. Direct comments regarding the burden estimate or any other aspect of this form to: pponds@nps.gov (email).

**INTERVIEW GUIDE**

Thank you for agreeing to participate in an interview about the cultural resources at Cape Lookout National Seashore. The National Park Service contracted with NC State University because managers are concerned about the vulnerability of the historic buildings and cemeteries, particularly related to flooding, erosion and sea level rise. Specifically, managers would like to know more about the connections people have to Portsmouth and Lookout Villages and the types of changes observed over time. They would also like to collect local insights on strategies for adapting to changing conditions.

I am particularly interested in knowing more about your connections to the historic buildings and cemeteries located within Portsmouth Village on Portsmouth Island and within Lookout Village near and including the Cape Lookout Lighthouse, as well as your thoughts on the cultural landscape. By cultural landscape, I mean not only the historic buildings and cemeteries, but also the surrounding land, plants, wildlife and water, including fish.

I am also interested in your family’s and your community’s connections to these cultural resources. When talking about your community’s connection, I mean the people of the “Down East” communities of North Carolina, as well as those in Beaufort and Moorhead City with ties these resources.

I’m also going to refer to Cape Lookout National Seashore as “Cape Lookout”.

As I indicated when we scheduled this interview, this study is voluntary and you are free to stop the interview at any time. There are no known risks or benefits to you for participating in the study. I’m going to start the audio recorder now and begin the interview. At the end of the interview, I will ask you to recommend other community members with strong ties to the villages that you think I should also interview.

**Theme 1: Connections to Place**

1. How many years have you lived in the “Down East” community?
2. Can you please describe your connection with Cape Lookout National Seashore?
a. [Probe]: Do you have personal connections to the history or culture associated with Lookout Village or Portsmouth Island?
3. What meanings does Cape Lookout hold for your family?
4. What meanings does Cape Lookout hold for your community?
5. How frequently do you visit Cape Lookout?
   a. Where do you go?
6. What benefits does Cape Lookout provide to you?
7. What benefits does Cape Lookout provide to your family?
8. What benefits does Cape Lookout provide to your community?
9. Have you or anyone in your family taken any actions to preserve the cultural resources at Cape Lookout (including passing down oral history, fostering historic designation, fundraising, or volunteerism)?
   a. If so, what actions and what were the results?
   i. How has this affected your connections to Cape Lookout?
10. Have members of your community taken any actions to preserve the cultural resources at Cape Lookout?
    a. If so, what actions and what were the results?
    i. How has this affected your connections to Cape Lookout?

Theme 2: Perceptions of Cultural Resource Conditions

10. When you think about the cultural resources of Cape Lookout, what first comes to mind?
    a. How would you describe the condition of those cultural resources?
11. When you think about the cultural landscape of Cape Lookout, what do you picture?
    a. What components of the cultural landscape mean the most to you? Why?
12. How would you describe the conditions of the cultural resources at Lookout Village?
13. How would you describe the conditions of the cultural resources at Portsmouth Island?

Theme 3: Perceptions of Vulnerability, Change and Cultural Resource Management

14. In the past 5 or 10 years, have you seen any changes in the cultural resources or cultural landscape at Cape Lookout? Please explain.
   a. How have you seen the cultural resources or cultural landscape at Lookout Village change over time?
   b. How have you seen the cultural resources or cultural landscape at Portsmouth Village change over time?
15. Some people are concerned about the cultural and natural resources at Cape Lookout and their vulnerability to future threats. What is your perspective on the vulnerability of Cape Lookout to future threats?
   a. Would you describe the cultural resource or landscape as vulnerable? [Probe: If so, what makes the cultural and natural resources within the cultural landscape vulnerable?]
16. What are the greatest threats to the cultural resources at Lookout Village? [Probe: sea level rise, storm surge flooding and erosion]
   a. How will these threats impact cultural resources and the cultural landscape?
   b. How concerned are you about the threats you mentioned? [Probe: Why?]
17. What are the greatest threats to the cultural resources at Portsmouth Island? [Probe: sea level rise, storm surge flooding and erosion]
   a. How will these threats impact cultural resources and the cultural landscape?
b. How concerned are you about the threats you mentioned? [Probe: Why?]
18. In your mind, what should be done to prevent the threats you've identified?
   a. If the threats you note are unavoidable, what strategies should be taken to adapt to the changes or impacts? (Provide examples, if needed, such as elevating buildings, documenting then removing buildings, and moving buildings.)

Theme 4: Visions for the Future

19. Would changes to the cultural landscape affect your connection to Cape Lookout?
   a. How?
20. Protecting historic buildings in changing environments, like barrier islands, is challenging. Do you have suggestions for managers on cultural resource management into the future?
   a. What buildings, resources or landscapes are most critical to preserving cultural heritage?
      i. Why?
21. Current policy of the NPS is to prioritize management based on the vulnerability and significance of particular resources. Do you have any advice for NPS managers in their prioritization of cultural resources? (Probe: In other words, how should the National Park Service determine which resources are most significant? What other criteria do you believe the Park Service should consider when making prioritization decisions?)
   a. Is the age of a building important when making management decisions?
      i. Why?
22. How would you characterize communication between the NPS and local communities?
   a. What’s working?
   b. What’s not working?
## Appendix B: Tables

### Table 1. Participants’ connections to the historic districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connection Type</th>
<th>Number of Participants with this Connection</th>
<th>Historic District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Born at CALO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Portsmouth Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestors Lived at CALO (pre-park)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lookout Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Portsmouth Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant and/or Family Owned Property at CALO and Subsequent Leases</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lookout Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Portsmouth Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Lookout Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grew Up in the Area</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Portsmouth Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifetime Vacation Destination</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lookout Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteering / Work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Portsmouth Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CALO Community Value</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Aesthetic Values</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Existing Near &amp; With the Sea</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Just the, just, for me it’s a visual thing. I mean, just to see either from the Harker’s Island side or coming on the ocean side, it’s just an extraordinary venue. It doesn’t matter what your thoughts are, whether you’re a sea person or a land person, if you are there for a moment there’s a, it has a certain dramatic visual impact. The bight. The rock jetty. The lookout shoals. Shark Island and all that. Because it is, it just shouts out that you are in nature. You are in this fresh, clean place. And the beauty of it is something that is imprinted on anyone who sees it.” (PARTICIPANT #9)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “And growing up people in the community and the family fished and then when you’re out there, the lighthouse was there, you knew where you were in the ocean.” (PARTICIPANT #4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lighthouse</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “To the people who live Down East, including me, Cape Lookout is a symbol of our home. And I have told people before and get in talks that I’m 72 years old and if you go to the cape there’s a place that you round the corner and the lighthouse starts, and I get goosebumps every time.” (PARTICIPANT #4)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “The lighthouse obviously. It’s just been such a sentinel for so many years. And coming back from offshore, I used to do offshore charters, just seeing the lighthouse as you come back in you knew you were home and you knew you were safe. So that’s obviously the biggest one.” (PARTICIPANT #13)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Spiritual Values</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional &amp; Sentimental Values</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Just that it’s a retreat, and it’s a sacred retreat… So when they go there, sometimes they’ve got tears in their eyes b/c they’re thinking about the Papa. And then they remember.” (PARTICIPANT #15)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Um… It is the draw -- well emotionally and spiritually and genetically it is the founding place.” (PARTICIPANT #)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spirituality &amp; Recharging</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “But like I said, the main thing is the Banks themselves b/c you can go over there on that Banks and so many times you’re by yourself, if you don’t go in the height of the tourist season. And the ocean, the sky, the gulls, you see wild horses if you look across the inlet. To me it’s like the biggest cathedral in the world. That’s my appreciation of it.” (PARTICIPANT #4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “On a personal level it’s sanity. I actually go there to regain my sanity. Reflect, have awesome memories, not just fishing, personal fishing memories, but memories of people and events and times.” (PARTICIPANT #18)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Social Values</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>People = Cultural Resources</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “The people. Um, and their stories. Their… it’s not just their stories. You know, people can tell stories. To me the greatest resource is that connection our crowd still has to it. It’s not tangible. It’s the allegiance and the pride. And that sense of commonality. I feel close to people, like in the promine land of Salter Path, and we experienced this with the Diamond City homecoming in a very visible way. But I may not know their name, but I know them. And I know in unspoken ways what’s important to them, and there’s great comfort in that.” (PARTICIPANT #1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Well, the, I think it’s in people really, the cultural-based resources. The people who had folks who lived over there, the people who had camps in the past over there, who, you know, have strong connections. I think there’s still plenty of those people left around. They’re gonna gradually die off.” (PARTICIPANT #14)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family Memories</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “But because of [my father’s] connection, even in the 40’s and 50’s, this was his home and he had his own contracting business. When he wanted to take a vacation there was only one vacation we ever took.” (PARTICIPANT #9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Well, it’s a place we vacation. It’s a place we decorate our house with. lighthouses, all kinds of… it’s a place that we, our family takes. We’ve actually taken larger family vacations out there where quite a few members of our family go all at the same time.” (PARTICIPANT #18)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**CALO Community Value**

**Recreation & Enjoyment**
- “It’s the surfing and the fishing and...the recreation. Being able to ride down the beach. I have four-wheelers rigged specifically to carry surfboards and fishing rods. And when I was younger with kids we used to camp out there. It’s a great, great place to camp, if you can get in the right place with the wind...then also there’s a social aspect of it. I mean, inside the hook of the cape during the summer there can be three or 400 boats. And, you know, I probably know 25% so it’s always...good to see, and it’s a great, if you have guests a boat trip to CL, and ‘course...climbing the lighthouse.” (PARTICIPANT #2)
- “Yeah, enormous benefits. I mean, it provides you awesome place for recreation, for one thing. And, you know, it provides...opportunities for having fun and enjoying...nature or whatever, fishing.” (PARTICIPANT #14)

**Historical Values**

**History & Ancestry**
- “Then when it comes to history, you can’t get enough of the history.” (PARTICIPANT #7)
- “Oh well, well, everybody will have a story to tell you. Their family had camps out there. Their great-grandfather was a keeper, either Life-saving or lighthouse keeping. Or, some of them probably imagine that they were.” (PARTICIPANT #16)

**Lighthouse**
- “Obviously, if you want to do anything -- in my mind, prioritization, the lighthouse is number one b/c it has probably the most historical significance of anything that is out there.” (PARTICIPANT #13)
- “Then we relate the lighthouse to things called the lifesaving service, which is a forerunner of the coast guard. And that’s a big part of the heritage here in Carteret Co, has you know. And we just got that designation as a coast guard community, only two in the nation, we just got that. We worked on that a lot. So that’s how I relate to the lighthouse. It’s almost a primeval magnet.” (PARTICIPANT #15)

**Fishing & Hunting Tradition**
- “My grandfather was a storekeeper on the Banks and a fisherman, and my father was a fisherman and boat builder.” (PARTICIPANT #6)
- “So, the whole gamut of change from fishing, from almost a one-man job to now a very large, or at least the latter part of Portsmouth period, to a larger process... I know, hunting. The hunting in which you had these guides on the islands and they would go out for days hunting and come back with hundreds of ducks or geese or whatever they were hunting at that point. Franklin Delano Roosevelt went out there hunting. Babe Ruth went out there hunting, and other important people. So this is an important part of the culture.” (PARTICIPANT #7)

**Authenticity Values**

**Fishing & Hunting Tradition**
- And to what we call Cape Point, which is, yeah, down there. Or into the hook, we still do a lot of, my kids especially, still do a lot of fishing in the hook and right off the breakwater.” (PARTICIPANT #6)
- “Well growing up it was food, it was recreation, it was just fun. It was that constant that was always there. No matter what changed the lighthouse was there. And growing up people in the community and the family fished and then when you’re out there, the lighthouse was there, you knew where you were in the ocean...That’s how they made a living. We ate from the sea.” (PARTICIPANT #4)

**Existing near & with the Sea**
- “And I give that as an example, it’s not north, south, east, and west, but it is certainly water here. Kids have boats before they have bicycles, that sort of thing. It’s sort of an ingrained thing, that, that ... just like speech and you know, lore and all the rest of it that they grew up with.” (PARTICIPANT #16)
- “So it’s very, I think it’s important to save those type of buildings so that people can understand what the people that used to live on these islands and make their living from whaling and fishing, what they lived in, what their life was like.” (PARTICIPANT #13)

**Uniqueness**

**Unique Elements of CALO**
*See Appendix B, Table 3 for information regarding CALO’s unique elements valued by community members.*

Note: **Traditional CRM Category** in bold italics. Corresponding values elicited from interview data in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unique Elements of CALO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Undeveloped Character</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Beauty</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>“I’ve been a lot of places and seen a lot of things, but nothing, I think, as beautiful and, the characteristics of it, the seasons and how it changes.” (PARTICIPANT #2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Just the, just, for me it’s a visual thing. I mean, just to see either from the Harker’s Island side or coming on the ocean side, it’s just an extraordinary venue. It doesn’t matter what your thoughts are, whether you’re a sea person or a land person, if you are there for a moment there’s a, it has a certain dramatic visual impact. The bight. The rock jetty. The lookout shoals. Shark Island and all that. Because it is, it just shouts out that you are in nature. You are in this fresh, clean place. And the beauty of it is something that is imprinted on anyone who sees it.” (PARTICIPANT #9)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Magical/Special Quality</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>“When people come and I want them to get the essence of the place…we'll go down there. And because this goes back to the draw of CL, the untapped resource…because there is a sense of being wild and on the edge. I call it that magic edge, the twilight zone, between the land and the sea.” (PARTICIPANT #9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“When you come back, the benefit is you know you’ve had an unusual experience. You’ve had an experience of the sea, of the closeness of it, and I do believe this, there is an aura about it that you don’t have to describe to people, that they’re gonna sense if they go.” (PARTICIPANT #9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Well it’s a special place. And that’s hard to define.” (PARTICIPANT #15)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rawness</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>“The raw? Just the raw beauty of the place? I know some, to me that’s what attracts so many of us to it. It’s not commercialized. The only power to the island is to the light. It’s those things and just the raw nature of that place…when you first see it, is breathtaking because it’s in such a, like almost a perfectly natural state.” (PARTICIPANT #18)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Well, you know Core Banks remains so rustic, so primitive…it was intended to be a wilderness and it remains a wilderness.” (PARTICIPANT #6)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Intact Barrier Island System Driven by Coastal Geologic Processes</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Human vs. Nature</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>“It’s amazing to me when you look at vegetation how sparse it is. And they lived there. Try to find fresh water, you gotta work at it. And they did, but they lived there. That says something. So what you do, you look at what they had and that was home to them, and then you see where you are and you think, ‘They’re tougher than I was.’ And they are.” (PARTICIPANT #15)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“And I like going there, but…to me you have to approach CL on its terms. And I think that is a stronger bond once you do that. You know, it’s like, ‘I came to Cape Lookout! I toted my own water! I did that! I fought off all those gnats!’ It’s a challenge. It’s not easy to get around.” (PARTICIPANT #3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“But like I said, the main thing is the Banks themselves b/c you can go over there on that Banks and so many times you’re by yourself, if you don’t go in the height of the tourist season. And the ocean, the sky, the gulls, you see wild horses if you look across the inlet. To me it’s like the biggest cathedral in the world. That’s my appreciation of it.” (PARTICIPANT #4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human Connection to the Banks; Diamond City and Whaling Industry</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Banks Way of Life</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>“I often think about what the life, what the culture and everything must have been. Especially at a time like this, the winter when it’s so dark and stuff and when the only mode of transportation was a sales skiff, how isolated they must have been and how dark their days and nights and stuff. And how they must have looked forward to spring each year, if for nothing else for daylight.” (PARTICIPANT #6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“But there was just a spirit of community. And that word gets used way too much, but I remember, you know, whatever, whatever people had to eat everybody else knew. So if somebody had been clamming, everybody ate out of that pot. It was a very free-roaming, you know, nobody hesitated to go to somebody else’s camp…Over there there was no privacy.” (PARTICIPANT #1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Unique Elements of CALO

**Resilient, Isolated Community**
- “I remember what my mom and dad, and my grandmother, the stories they told me about how they survived. Basically in the summertime it was a feast. Clams and oysters and shrimp and whatever. Seafood. And you had to look out in the fall of the year when the fish started migrating, you get enough to salt in kegs to last you through the winter. If it was winter it was oyster and clams and wild fowl and things of that nature. So when spring came you were certainly glad it come and get of all those ducks.” (PARTICIPANT #12)
- “Well, the history over there is incredible. Dating back to the whaling communities on Diamond City and other areas along Shackleford Banks. The creation of the Life-saving service, with the Life-saving stations at Portsmouth and Lookout both.” (PARTICIPANT #13)

#### Recreational Opportunities and Experiences in a Remote Setting

- **Isolation, Solitude & Tranquility**
  - “A place to go hide. Really! We, uh, we love to go out there. We love to fish, we love to clam, we love to dive.” (PARTICIPANT #13)
  - “I just like the, primarily sparsely inhabited, I mean, it has people on the weekends, but that’s it.” (PARTICIPANT #5)
  - “The fishing, the beauty. The solitude, it’s quiet. If you’re not there in the middle of the summer when all the tourists are there.” (PARTICIPANT #17)
  - “It’s a get-away from the bridges and the noise and the downtown, and the Walmarts, and the traffic lights. Unfortunately, or fortunately, it’s also an attraction to a lot of people that don’t live here.” (PARTICIPANT #15)

- **Nature & Ecology**
  - “It’s different here b/c it’s undeveloped and you’ve got birds and sea gulls and ocean and sky and now and then you see a foal with its momma. And it’s an experience that’s really, there’s very few places in the world that you can find.” (PARTICIPANT #2)
  - “The thing that I think most people don’t see, or overlook, is the natural history. The flora and fauna…because it’s rich in both of those… The birding there. And the turtles and all of that is just a rich, fascinating part… And I guess there are snakes on the island…there’s other animals too. There’s raccoons and all sorts of stuff…when I was there I got to see two otters play…I was on the dock and watched two otters play and lay on their backs and crack open oysters and clams and stuff like that.” (PARTICIPANT #7)
  - “I treasure it as a natural place. That reflects my background and personal passions. I don't treasure it for its cultural history or historic buildings.” (PARTICIPANT #10)

- **Existing near & with the Sea**
  - “And I give that as an example, it’s not north, south, east, and west, but it is certainly water here. Kids have boats before they have bicycles, that sort of thing. It’s sort of an ingrained thing, that…just like speech and…lore and all the rest of it that they grew up with.” (PARTICIPANT #16)
  - “So it’s very, I think it’s important to save those type of buildings so that people can understand what the people that used to live on these islands and make their living from whaling and fishing, what they lived in, what their life was like.” (PARTICIPANT #13)

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**Note:** Fundamental resource/value(s) from foundation document in bold italics. Corresponding unique elements of CALO elicited from interview data in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.
### Conditions Perceived

**Poor Conditions:** Participants describe buildings they have observed and perceived to be in poor condition.

- "Lookout Village, there needs to be some cohesion in that and the buildings have suffered. I've been in a couple of houses and they really need a lot." (PARTICIPANT #3)
- "Well...the Barden House, the keeper's quarters, the two story house that's down the bank? I'd almost be afraid to see what it looks like now. And course the Coast Guard station, which just makes me cry...Very bad condition." (PARTICIPANT #16)
- "Well, I think they maintain pretty well the exteriors. The interiors, not really." (PARTICIPANT #14)
- "It's looking pretty rough, the Baker-Holderness House... Because of its physical location there's not a lot they can do...because that marsh area and that creek that goes up in there has grown a lot." (PARTICIPANT #13)

**Deterioration Noticed & Maintenance Needed:** Participants indicate deterioration in buildings that they have noticed over time, including lack of regular maintenance.

- "I'm gonna say none of the houses [at Portsmouth Village] are in really bad shape, but some need roofs on 'em, some need window repair...and I'm afraid it outnumbers the resources that they have. I don't know too much about what's down at CL...but I know at Portsmouth there's some things that need to be done." (PARTICIPANT #7)
- "[Lookout] village I think is pretty much ignored." (PARTICIPANT #3)
- "Our house has been there forever, but as soon as the windows blow out, and some have blown out they have not replaced them. The clapboard some has come off; they haven't replaced it. All that's neglect." (PARTICIPANT #5)
- "Because nobody's there reinforcing that, or putting a new roof on it. Now when [a previous superintendent] was there...he would take whatever he could find and at least keep the rain out of it and I appreciate that effort. I'm sorry that that tradition did not continue." (PARTICIPANT #1)

**Good Conditions:** Participants describe buildings they have perceived to be in good condition.

- "It's good that the coast guard station [Portsmouth Lifesaving Station] has been kept up. And it's still in good shape as far as I know." (PARTICIPANT #11)
- "When you walk into the PV, it looks pristine. It really does. It looks very well cared for, very well maintained, very pretty." (PARTICIPANT #13)
- "I was pretty impressed...I know there are a lot of buildings that aren't there any more, there are very few that are left, but uh, it was impressive, the condition of the buildings that are there. Really nice." (PARTICIPANT #8)
- "Everybody who has occasion to talk about it is always saying, 'You know, they keep these places up pretty nicely.'...You never hear someone [say], 'Ah, that place is falling down.'" (PARTICIPANT #9)

**Upkeep & Improvements Noticed:** Participants point out maintenance and improvements to buildings that they have observed.

- "Well the lighthouse they put effort into. You know they got the five hundred thousand dollars and they got that upgraded. And of course they've taken care of the [Keeper’s Quarters] to some degree...to make that sort of the museum and where volunteers can stay. So there has been money going to that. I think that is in pretty good shape." (PARTICIPANT #2)
- "The buildings at Portsmouth...I mean those buildings are livable. They've been repaired, they've been shingled...the church has been straightened, which I'm not sure it should've been, I liked the way it leaned. Everything there is secure. As secure as it can be and still be true to what it was." (PARTICIPANT #1)
- "They're doing a good job with the lighthouse. They put a lot of work into it. Of course, it's the number one attraction. Everybody wants to see the lighthouse." (PARTICIPANT #13)
- "Well, Portsmouth Island is actually getting some money going into and they're actually doing something." (PARTICIPANT #2)

*Note: Theme in bold italics. Description in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.*
### Table 5. Perceptions of differences between the historic districts

#### Difference between Districts

**Historical Differences:** Participants noted the different histories of each district and how those differences affect preservation. Overall, participants described Portsmouth Village as having a deeper history of permanent residents while Lookout Village was more often used for temporary living, such as vacationing or visiting family members in the Coast Guard.

- “Portsmouth was a community. A thriving ship-build[ing] community, so the roots there go much deeper…Portsmouth is an old place with a lot of deep roots, whereas the lower part of Cape Lookout has mainly been recreational, and then commercial fishing.” (PARTICIPANT #2)
- “They’re completely different in that Portsmouth was a bustling seaport with a pretty big population at one time. And a lot of commerce, a lot of money, a lot of ships coming in and going out…Most of the houses at the cape… were either built by or for the coast guard to bring their families over in the best months of the year.” (PARTICIPANT #11)
- “I think there’s a difference. Portsmouth Village, the last resident didn’t leave there ‘til the 1970’s. He lived there full time, Mr. Piggott.” (PARTICIPANT #13)
- “People lived there longer. They were there ‘til ’71 so the buildings were in better condition to be saved. They were full time living buildings.” (PARTICIPANT #1)

**Physical Differences:** Participants describe how the two village landscapes differ and the impacts of those differences.

- “Every time I’ve gone there’s been standing water. Portsmouth is lower. It’s just a sandbar that’s cropped up. I don’t know what the long term, the bank’s only been there twelve-thousand years… in geological time that’s not long.” (PARTICIPANT #12)
- “Portsmouth is really low. It’s completely different. It’s like a mud pie.” (PARTICIPANT #5)
- “[Lookout Village] is a very high island and it’s a completely different [landscape].” (PARTICIPANT #5)

**Treatment Differences:** Participants describe their perceptions of how each district has been treated differently, disparities in funding allocations, and preservation efforts.

- “No comparison…There’s been significant investment, millions of dollars put into Portsmouth. And I’m glad it was. But I think CLV was just as worthy. And those were internal decisions made. And I regret that because now the village at CL will have to be mostly rebuilt.” (PARTICIPANT #1)
- “In comparison I think more money has been spent in Portsmouth, and rightly so. I think Portsmouth was a bigger priority…And I think they made a wise choice because Portsmouth was kinda out of sight, and I think it was a brave step for them to put the money into something that not a lot of people knew or saw.” (PARTICIPANT #3)
- “Well the Park Service has certainly spent a lot of effort and a lot of US dollars at Portsmouth. And I think it’s a good thing. It would be a shame to let all that just disappear just because of money. And I can’t compare that part of Portsmouth with Cape Village b/c I don’t think Cape Village has reached the point that all is gonna be done has been done. It’s an incomplete project.” (PARTICIPANT #11)
- “I don’t wanna speak out of turn, but it seems to me that Portsmouth has been better maintained than the village at Lookout. I don’t know why that is. But it just seems that Portsmouth is in better shape. The church up there is beautiful. I mean, a lot of it is just awesome. I wish Lookout could be the same… that Portsmouth is.” (PARTICIPANT #18)

Note: **Theme** in bold italics. Description in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.
### Table 6. Perceptions of vulnerability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vulnerability Perception</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Climate Change Perceptions:</strong> Participants reveal a general acceptance of the reality and potential impacts of climate change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “And with the rising sea level that we have now, I do not think it’s a hoax! You know, other people have other opinions.” (PARTICIPANT #3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- “See, I believe in that. Now I’ve heard that talk radio is making fun of global warming, but I lived here ten years and there’s a marsh out there... In an extreme weather event it will go underwater. I’ve seen that marsh under water more in the last 18 months than I have in the previous 18 years. So something’s happening.” (PARTICIPANT #4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- “I think that, as far as raising them and things like that, the sea level rise, is it rising? Oh yeah. No doubt about it...I know that [the] year before last as I was coming back in from the ocean, I came around the end of Shackleford Banks...Every single one of those islands was underwater. I had never, ever in my life seen that. So, sea level’s definitely rising.” (PARTICIPANT #13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “…and then with climate, changing climate, the water table’s definitely rising. Some things like that we can’t do anything about. And we just have to kinda live with what’s there.” (PARTICIPANT #17)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Inevitable Impacts – Mother Nature:</strong> Participants assert that impacts will occur regardless of adaptive actions because it is impossible to fight nature.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- “You know that old saying about you can’t mess with Mother Nature? And they’re amazed at how powerful it is sometimes, but...the storm can undo in a couple of hours what engineers and others have done over years. So...to quote my grandmother, ‘Even the bible says don’t build your home on shifting sand.’” (PARTICIPANT #4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- “The island’s washing away anyway... I don’t think there’s really much that we can do and we’re probably better off to leave it to nature. If we start putting things in there and try to change nature...let’s just leave it alone.” (PARTICIPANT #17)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- “Mother Nature. You know? It is a barrier island, let’s get real about that...You can’t stop Mother Nature, you just can’t.” (PARTICIPANT #13)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Inevitable Impacts – Dynamic Islands:</strong> Participants describe how the dynamic barrier island system contributes to their belief that impacts are inevitable.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- “…and that’s the other thing, we need to revere what Nature does. The roll over system...The island is rolling over on itself, that’s what barrier islands do, but it’s scary, it’s scary to people.” “Well, yes they are very vulnerable. They are very vulnerable because of...the dynamics of a barrier island ecology.” (PARTICIPANT #3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- “You know, these islands, they’re dynamic ecosystems. They move. They shift, depending on how strong the storms are...which directions the storms come from, how long they’re here.” (PARTICIPANT #13)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lack of Threat:</strong> Participants discuss the possibility that the buildings could possibly be safe since they have been standing for so long already.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “But the fact remains those islands, those barrier islands that we call the Outer Banks have been there a long time. A LONG time. And there are telephone poles up north, and we know where those telephone poles are, and we have watched, we use them as a gauge and we have seen the island take some ground back and we’ve seen it give ground back. You know, back and forth.” (PARTICIPANT #18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “What I find interesting is that all of these facilities, Portsmouth and the others, have lasted all this time.” (PARTICIPANT #9)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: **Theme** in bold italics. **Description** in italics. **Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific Threat</th>
<th>Immediate Threats</th>
<th>Mid-Range Threats (25-50 years)</th>
<th>Long-Range Threats (50-100 years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neglect</td>
<td>“I think the greatest threat to the buildings, the most immediate threat to the buildings is neglect.” (PARTICIPANT #2)</td>
<td>“Erosion’s even worse ‘cause it takes land away and that may not come back in that particular spot, so you have to be careful of that. And just to see that ribbon from an aerial view, how vulnerable it is to abrupt change.” (PARTICIPANT #15)</td>
<td>“As time goes along fewer and fewer people are aware of that, and you’re at a point now where there are still enough people around that have direct family connections and associations with CL and the surf fishing and everything like that, that you can get it, but in another fifty years if they ignore it and nobody goes there, people won’t know that it was there.” (PARTICIPANT #2)</td>
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<td>“I think it’s vulnerable to neglect. I think neglect is the biggest deal. Ever since growing up there when I was a kid, it was all about how to do systems and how to fix things so you wouldn’t have to do it twice. It’s a battle of corrosion, it’s a battle of salt and sun and all sorts of stuff...a constant effort.” (PARTICIPANT #5)</td>
<td>“Portsmouth is probably more vulnerable because of where it is. And it’s been flooded more than the village [Lookout Village].” (PARTICIPANT #16)</td>
<td>“I think living 60-65 years I got a good memory of it and can recognize the change. I think in your time Portsmouth will just be a word. ‘I remember my granddaddy used to tell me or my grandmamma used to tell me.’ In 75 or 100 years...I don’t see that it’ll be there.” (PARTICIPANT #12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>“Probably the second thing that I worry about is vandalism. Particularly on Portsmouth because it is so out of the way and you know, fishermen do like to drink. And some are just...wanna raise hell. And so I think maybe vandalism, arson, that kind of thing, especially up in the village. That scares me.” (PARTICIPANT #3)</td>
<td>“We’ve had a lot of erosion, near the lighthouse mainly…I was just out there yesterday and noticed that from these storms this winter that it had really eaten into the bank toward the lighthouse and toward the keeper’s quarters, especially to the south of it. There’s really a lot of erosion there.” (PARTICIPANT #13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather Events</td>
<td>“I think the greatest danger is the cataclysmic [events] and just the nature of the environment.” (PARTICIPANT #3)</td>
<td>“I think the water that would get the village is probably gonna be flooding from a hurricane, from rainfall not the ocean.” (PARTICIPANT #18)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Ok, well it is a fact if you, one only has to know what happened in 1899, Diamond City, you know. You have the right storm. And forget climate change or whatever. If you have a Hazel, or an 1899 storm, everything down there is vulnerable.” (PARTICIPANT #9)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“And even now when we have a hurricane, I’m not usually worried about us, about my house right now, about my mother’s house, but I think about Portsmouth. One of the first things I do is call up after the hurricane and ask ‘how did Portsmouth do?’” (PARTICIPANT #3)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Specific Threat

**Sea Level Rise**

- “It’s gonna do what it’s gonna do, whether a little faster or a little slower. But we’ve dealt with sea level, that’s why a lot of stuff’s underwater.” (PARTICIPANT #2)
- “But I think, it all depends on sea level rise, I think. It’s gonna happen.” (PARTICIPANT #3)
- “I think it’s terribly vulnerable! Mostly with, you know, hurricanes and rising sea levels because there’s not much of that that’s very high above sea level.” (PARTICIPANT #8)
- “I think the other things I’m con-- you know, obviously concerned about is global warming in which maybe 50 years from now the island itself won’t even be there, but again, we can’t do anything about that either, so… And I think anything on the OBX is very vulnerable to all of that. (PARTICIPANT #7)

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Note: **Fundamental resource/value(s) from foundation document** in bold italics. Corresponding unique elements of CALO elicited from interview data in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.
Table 8. Perceptions of structural and landscape adaptation strategies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adaptation Strategy: Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Beach Nourishment:</strong> Participants discuss the benefits of beach nourishment as a potential adaptive strategy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “I think the beach nourishment that they did in…front of the lighthouse proper, helped for a while. So that could be something that could be evaluated again.” (PARTICIPANT #13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “For example if there were encroachments and all that around Portsmouth, one of the things that they do in other places is dredge, and they replace sand and they pump it back up. The Park Service, it depends on their view of what you bother [doing] and what you don’t.” (PARTICIPANT #4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Raise or Move Buildings:</strong> Participants examine the ways in which raising or moving buildings could be a beneficial strategy for adaptation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “Well, having spent most of my life in the construction business and in marine construction, I mean, it’s raise it, move it, or lose it. Those are your only options. Hardened buildings are really not an option.” (PARTICIPANT #2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “Putting them up on blocks I have no trouble with, as long as they’re not jacked way up high. As long as it looks normal and appropriate for the period, that doesn’t bother me. Moving buildings, yeah they moved a lot of buildings, but I really have trouble with moving ‘em from where they are now…historically they are where they are and I had trouble with moving one. If it means saving the building, then obviously I’d rather move it than lose it.” (PARTICIPANT #7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “Analyze what impact the projected sea level rise is going to have on these buildings that they have out there and maybe put that in their plan if they need to be moved or elevated.” (PARTICIPANT #13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Do Not Raise/Move Buildings:</strong> Participants consider the ways in which raising or moving buildings could be detrimental to cultural heritage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “I’m not sure it would help to raise ‘em or move ‘em…I’m not sure what the value is in trying to raise a house ‘cause…you gain saving everything above that level, but you lose how it is people used to live. You don’t know what it really looked like…I’m not sure how much time or energy…I would put into trying to move stuff around to preserve it.” (PARTICIPANT #8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “The same thing would be here…I can’t imagine the Portsmouth church up on stilts. I just can’t imagine it! Nor can I imagine it in downtown Harker’s Island, or downtown Ocracoke or somewhere. I just can’t imagine it there. It would lose its soul.” (PARTICIPANT #16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- I mean you can’t just keep jackin’ ‘em up and jackin’ ‘em up. I don’t know that you wanna do that down in the village b/c I think the water that would get the village is probably gonna be flooding from a hurricane, from rainfall not the ocean.” (PARTICIPANT #18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Restoration &amp; Maintenance:</strong> Participants describe how regularly restoring and maintaining buildings could be a valuable strategy for adaptation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “I hope the Park Service will take another house and begin working on fixing that up. And again, if done one house at a time, if we can do a house and they can do a house, with the idea that, maybe not necessarily open up for exhibition, but at least restore it enough that it’ll be preserved, then I think that’ll work. But just a good windstorm and rainstorm can do a lot of damage. So a good strong roof will help protect the building itself. And good windows, that type of thing. Good maintenance on ‘em.” (PARTICIPANT #7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “Shore up the buildings, make sure they’re sound and that strong winds aren’t going to blow them down.” (PARTICIPANT #13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- “Maintenance always, be prepared to do that and be committed to doing that. That’s obvious.” (PARTICIPANT #15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consequences of Engineered Solutions:</strong> Participants illustrate the potential ramifications of engineered solutions to adaptation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adaptation Strategy: Description

- “If it were a developer you’d have a dredge out there just pumping sand in. But then, that can also destroy and change things, but if you make it deeper offshore that change-- everything with these natural environments, every change you make has an impact.” (PARTICIPANT #4)
- “You know [the inlet] wasn’t a good idea! A dynamic inlet needs a dynamic solution, which you have to probably occasionally pump sand. And to me a dynamic problem requires a dynamic solution. They always think you can just do it once. You can’t do a rock jetty; you can’t do all that stuff. (PARTICIPANT #5)
- “It’s just that you don’t know what that’s gonna cost because you’re taking it from someplace else out there.” (PARTICIPANT #4)
- “Like I said I get angry and upset and sad at some of the changes I see because I think they're not progress. If it's something that will help the environment that we live in, then I'm happy to see it.” (PARTICIPANT #4)

Note: Theme in bold italics. Description in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.
### Adaptation Strategy: Description

**More Public Displays**: Participants discuss their desire to see more publicly available displays and interpretive materials to better connect visitors and community members to CALO culture.

- *“I would always love to see more money being put into buildings and houses. Some houses are beyond help now, given time, but they’ve done so much and I’m glad they’ve done it. There’s a collection there of original materials that they used to basically do research when they’re working on the...And the only thing I’d like to see is maybe some more of that stuff out for the public to see. It’s just kind of interesting.”* (PARTICIPANT #3)
- *“Wash Roberts’ House, I’d like for them to restore that house and fix it...as an exhibition house...like an 1850 house. With 1850-like furniture. Because we did have houses and so forth in the 1850’s, but nothing is shown on the island that looks like that period of time. And we need that as part of the cultural resources of the island. So if you take that house, set it up, furnish it like 1850 or 1860, I think it would be a major addition to what is located there on the island.”* (PARTICIPANT #7)

**Documentation, Research & Oral History**: Participants comment on the need for increased research and documentation in order to preserve the culture of a community that is swiftly fading away.

- *“What [the NPS is] doing is documenting how the building was built, when it was built, the architectural stuff, which I think is very, very important. And I think that when you take what [A Walk in the Past] has done and what they are doing and put them together, you’ve got a real good resource there. I think that’s very important and they need to continue doing that with all the buildings.”* (PARTICIPANT #7)
- *“I feel like we need oral histories, and books, and documentation...as much of that as possible and that can be preservation of the Cape Village.”* (PARTICIPANT #11)
- *“Well, I think a documentary should be made. I think everybody who is alive whoever had anything to do with the cape should be documented.”* (PARTICIPANT #11)

**Signage for Non-Extant Buildings**: Participants consider the need for signage and interpretation for buildings that are currently non-extant and for buildings that may soon face destruction.

- *“Maybe if they can if they can preserve just...even the foundations and...maybe what we’ll have is a more digital display...I’m sure they’ve taken pictures of all that, but you know, just some sort of electronic version of being able to experience that, as opposed to a physical version of it because that may be all you have.”* (PARTICIPANT #8)
- *“There’s some buildings out there and people don’t know what they are...There was a big cement slab out there with some pipes in it and stuff, and nobody could tell me what it was...And cabin camps. I think they need to recognize more the family camps and the family names, and maybe the little hunting clubs. And the Lifesaving Stations that are no longer there, it would be nice to have some kind of recognition in place...that it used to be there. Maybe a photograph. They have these great signs, you know, embedded fiberglass signs that can take sand blasting. Those are little things. They’ve come a long way. The icing is on the cake.”* (PARTICIPANT #3)

**Advertise & Maintain Lookout Village**: Participants discuss the need to advertise Lookout Village to visitors who are unaware of the existence of the village buildings aside from the lighthouse complex as well as the need to maintain those buildings so that people are able to explore them.

- *“See, I’ve been to the lighthouse and the beach area right around it, but I didn’t know there was a village. Now that I know it, I want to go see it, and see what it looks like. And to see how many houses or buildings are there, and what is there... there needs to be some type of sign advertising, or guide, that can say, [Lookout Village] is that a' way...It needs to be something ‘cause that part is totally ignored, as far as advertising or letting people know it’s there.”* (PARTICIPANT #7)
- *“Everybody wants to see the lighthouse. Nobody necessarily even knows these buildings are in the historic village. And another thing is I think they need to promote it a little bit more and maybe even start a donation fund or something. I don’t know, something. But let’s get these things, let’s get ‘em where they need to be before they fall down.”* (PARTICIPANT #13)

**Note:** Theme in bold italics. Description in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.
### Table 10. Suggestions for prioritization of implementation adaptation strategies

#### Building-Based Prioritization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy Criteria</th>
<th>Building-Based Prioritization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Age of Building** | - “I would think age of the building would probably be...paramount; how old the building is; how long the building has been around. That would probably be the number one.” (PARTICIPANT #13)  
- “I don’t think age is the first, I think it’s what took place in those buildings and how that affected everything around it. The age... just because it’s old, doesn’t make it valuable.” (PARTICIPANT #1)  
- “I would think that you would try to save the oldest places.” (PARTICIPANT #17) |
| **Current Condition/Need** | - “I’d just prioritize by need of the building. Roof and windows are important, rain protection.” (PARTICIPANT #5)  
- “I think look at the condition of the building would be one. And I’m talking about physical condition of the building. That would be an important part.” (PARTICIPANT #7) |
| **Previous Investments** | - “Sally and Les’s” is a good example. Let’s go into that. There's probably 500 thousand into that. That place is that far from being open. That far. Finish it. I mean, that's all there is to it. Finish that.” (PARTICIPANT #2)  
- “The Les and Sally Moore complex, although it is not included in the historic district, some participants believe that it should be considered an important historic resource due to its importance to the community and its relevance to the “Banks way of life” and demonstrates the importance of considering investments made in buildings when planning.” |
| **Value-Based Prioritization** | **Significance of Building** | - “I would think that they would have to prioritize to see what has the most historical significance.” (PARTICIPANT #13)  
- “Those that have strong historic value. What I call historic value, there's a major history there, particularly coast guard building. I keep referring to that. We gotta keep that. We gotta remind people what it was like...And that little village at Portsmouth...that is at least a reflection.” (PARTICIPANT #15) |
| **Traditional Use of Banks** | - “How the building relates to the overall history and heritage of the whole area. Obviously the lifesaving people were a huge influence in these areas. And then the families that lived out there with the whaling communities and the fishing communities...look at the specific attachment to the past to the root heritage of the area.” (PARTICIPANT #13)  
- “Yeah. If it's a traditional use of the Banks. So I think they have value in that. Not because they're old, but it's traditional use.” (PARTICIPANT #3) |
| **Collaborative Prioritization** | **Cooperation & Partnerships** | - “So the priority is not so much on what to save, I think the priority needs to be on how to partner to get the, to get the resources necessary to save as many as you can. The priority needs to be working together. And then I think you could save 'em all. That's my philosophy. Let's don't ration the money, let's figure out how to get 'em all. And it can be done. I'm very optimistic that it can be done. But it will take the cooperation and the belief.” (PARTICIPANT #2)  
- “As a matter of priorities...for the government at least...I wish there was some way funding could be raised to maintain those buildings to keep 'em...like private funding.” (PARTICIPANT #18) |
| **Expert Consultation** | - “An engineer can look at a building...survey the buildings and say, ‘You can keep this one for a long time if you just do this. That one’s inevitably gonna go away.’ It’d probably be an engineering study to look at it and determine where to put the money, right? ‘You can put money in this one, but it’s just gonna go away in the next 15 years anyway...try to save these [other buildings].’” (PARTICIPANT #8)  
- “Well sure we need anthropologists! But I think something fairly scientific, as opposed to something that’s just an emotional response. They should take their direction...from the science community. History being part of that...As opposed to just me as an individual. Because it’s not just about me it’s about, look at it in 50 years from now, what do you want that to look like?” (PARTICIPANT #8) |
### Strategy Criteria

Local Community Input

- "They could do surveys if they wanted to find out which buildings the local people or even some of the beach people care most about." (PARTICIPANT #4)
- "The Friends of CL, the Friends of Portsmouth…and the neighboring communities would all express opinions, I’m sure… They hold community forums…like they did for the four wheelers and that type of thing. So I guess it would be to survey the communities. (PARTICIPANT #3)
- "Well, in all cases the Park Service should talk with local people. Sometimes, and of course they have to go by the rules I guess that come down from Washington, so… It seems to me from the past and even now, the local people are not considered helpful in maybe knowing…what to try saving, what not to save, you know? But if they would consult with the local people they might…make better decisions. (PARTICIPANT #17)

Note: **Prioritization strategy** in bold italics. Corresponding criteria for the strategy in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.
### Other Adaptation Advice

#### Can Only Do So Much
- **Acknowledge Budget Constraints**
  - “It’s like I say, it sucks up a lot of resources, I think they do the best they can with it.” (PARTICIPANT #14)
  - “You know the village is a huge, huge part of that island that needs to stay there. I hope that history can be maintained. I realize it takes money to do it. It takes funding and it’s expensive…that’s certainly part of it.” (PARTICIPANT #18)
  - “The Park Service doesn’t have a reliable source of funding. Sometimes they get a lot of money, sometimes they get no money…So they don’t really have a way of keeping up stuff, or don’t appear to have a way of keeping up buildings.” (PARTICIPANT #5)
  - “I understand that it’s a budgetary issue with the National Park.” (PARTICIPANT #13)

#### Accept Most Measures as Temporary
- “I don’t think to elevate anything would…it might help, and this is all just speculation, but it might help for 25 years or something.” (PARTICIPANT #3)
- “Be knowledgeable of the fact that it can only last so long. If you’ll accept that…on this coast, you can only make so much change.” (PARTICIPANT #12)
- “You can put money in [something], but it’s just gonna go away in the next 15 years anyway.” (PARTICIPANT #8)

#### Let Nature Take its Course
- “I don’t think there are any solutions. Except to let nature take its course.” (PARTICIPANT #11)
- “I mean you’re living on the Atlantic Ocean. It’s probably the most powerful force on the planet. So there are certain things that you might be able to do, and certain things that you’re just helpless to prevent.” (PARTICIPANT #4)
- “Preserve it now and accept the fact that you cannot save it. Do what you can do and nature will take care of the rest. And history will tell the tale of Portsmouth. And history will tell the tale of the NPS.” (PARTICIPANT #12)
- “I don’t think there’s really much that we can do and we’re probably better off to leave it to nature. If we start putting things in there and try to change nature, let’s just leave it alone.” (PARTICIPANT #17)

#### Ramifications of Adaptive Measures

#### Changes Yield Unintended Consequences
- “Any time you say you change the course of nature, you come up with an engineering plan to say this, something else is gonna change down the road.” (PARTICIPANT #12)
- “That can also destroy and change things, but if you make it deeper offshore that change-- everything with these natural environments, every change you make has an impact.” (PARTICIPANT #4)

#### No Half-Measures
- “[Understand] long-term effects of what you do. Are you just patching this thing up or are you gonna make some major improvements on the building? If all you’re doing is patching it up, I’m not sure that just patching it up is gonna be what we need to do.” (PARTICIPANT #7)
- “If you’re gonna save a building you need to do what it takes to save it. To preserve it where it’s gonna go. Just like if you take an older boat and you’re gonna fix it up…particularly a wooden boat, can’t put it in the corner and let it rot. You have to stabilize it.” (PARTICIPANT #2)

#### Planning Ahead for Impacts

#### Make Plans and Follow Through
- “You make a 25 year plan, you strengthen what you’ve got, you reinforce it so that when the storm does come through, there’s enough, there’s enough structural integrity and strength that it can survive the blow and you’ve got something to build back when it’s over.” (PARTICIPANT #1)
- “Maybe plans for a certain [type of event], and I know they have hurricane plans in place. And maybe some of the worse scenarios… ‘What would we do in case of blank?’ You know, all the horses drown. What do we do? That kind of thing.” (PARTICIPANT #3)
- “The weather? You just can’t do anything about it. You just, you know, but I think maybe through planning.” (PARTICIPANT #3)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other Adaptation Advice</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Short vs. Long-Term Goals</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>• “Take all of the items that need to be done…and write ‘em down, and say, ‘This is what needs to be done,’ and then rank ‘em…So you have short-term goals and then you have long-term goals…this is what we need to accomplish in a year, this is what we need to accomplish in maybe the next five years, and then over the next ten years…And then actually work at setting out and accomplishing those goals. I don’t think that they have goals like that.” (PARTICIPANT #7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “I think what really is needed is to sit down with some strategists…and say, ‘This is what is needed in the village, or on the island,’ and rank ‘em and say, ‘this is what we can do short term in the first year. This is what we need to have done in the next five years, and this is what we need to have done by ten years.’ And then at the end of every year evaluate what is done.” (PARTICIPANT #7)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Public Involvement</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Get People Interested and Invested in Preservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “The most important thing is to have them open to the public. And not necessarily, some of the houses could be used for overnight. And so that, it’s … you need to have involvement.” (PARTICIPANT #2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “If you’ve got a resource…someone needs to take ownership of it and manage it. And they’ve shown that…in parks in Philadelphia…I think it’s the same thing with the historic sites. If you can get a group to take ownership of it, and that’s one thing that I feel very strongly about the Friends of Cape Lookout.” (PARTICIPANT #2)</td>
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<td>• “I believe you could get the volunteers…CL draws people with interest. The people that go out there, they’re interested. They wanna do it. And you can energize a lot of people.” (PARTICIPANT #2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “The growth of that relationship between outside groups, and not seeing them as a threat, but seeing them as a partner…. I mean, that has changed because there was a time when it was seen as a threat, ‘I don’t want them to be telling me what to do.’” (PARTICIPANT #3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “I was so impressed! But it’s all because it was done with volunteers. And when you use volunteers you, people are very prideful of what they do so they try to do a really nice job. Versus hiring somebody to do something.” (PARTICIPANT #5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Use the Buildings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “The most important thing is to have them open to the public…some of the houses could be used for overnight…You need to have involvement.” (PARTICIPANT #2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “I think Portsmouth right now could use like a visiting artist program or something, or have artist seminars in the lighthouse, you know? Or people doing painting workshops or poetry workshops. Rent it out to these groups. It would also put Portsmouth more in the limelight of, on the radar of, poets and painters and any kind of workshop. You might do a shell club. That kind of thing. That’s my two cents on that. You could spend the night – it’s different to live there a week dealing with all the things… And I think it would justify, it wouldn’t be free, but it would help it’ll put money back in the coffers and give it better publicity.” (PARTICIPANT #3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “Well, one of the big changes was the historic leasing program was discontinued. A lot of people were sad about that. I think a lot of those people were doing a good job and helping the park save a little bit of money and it was a good working relationship with them. That was a big change.” (PARTICIPANT #3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “I wish they had a historic lease program like they do in other parks again, where private citizens could take care of the house. They did this at Portsmouth and it kept a lot of the houses going. Where they give a lease to somebody for 25 years and they maintain the building to the park standards, and the park doesn’t spend any money and they keep the building there. But I think the park doesn’t like answering tourist questions like, ‘How come he gets to have a house here?’” (PARTICIPANT #5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• “If there were facilities there that people could rent and go stay like the camps…there’s a desire for that. There’s a demand. I understand it takes work. I understand all that. But, I don’t know… I just wish there was a different relationship between the buildings and the people who care about ‘em.” (PARTICIPANT #1)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: **Advice theme** in bold italics. Corresponding advice elicited from interview data in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.
### Community – Park Relationships: General

#### Takeover Hostility: Participants describe the tense and hostile relationship that existed between the NPS and the community when the park was first established.

- You’ve got people down there that lost everything and now pay a privilege to do what they’ve always done. And that doesn’t die easy. That’s why a lot of the Down East sentiment is so bad.” (PARTICIPANT #3)
- “I mean, when the PS started doing the imminent domain deal...And the land out there, I mean, we were, at that point in time, we were livid. We were up in arms. We were mad. We were sad. We were you know, ready to burn things down. In fact we did.” (PARTICIPANT #13)

#### Bad Start: Participants discuss how the park and the community started their relationship on bad terms.

- “It used to be horrible. ‘Cause I told you, when a group of people are meeting with the superintendent and he basically says, ‘I’m not interested in you guys.’ It doesn’t make for great community relations. And attitudes.” (PARTICIPANT #4)
- “We all got off to a bad start. And neither side ever got over it. And, uh, so, I don’t think my generation will. [My daughter’s] generation probably’ll get over it...probably, mostly over it. But I’m not over it... And uh, it’s not ruining my life. You know I’m leading my life with or without the house at the cape, I’d just rather live my life with it.” (PARTICIPANT #11)

#### Lingering Mistrust: Participants talk about the fact that although the NPS-Community relationship has made progress over time, there is still a sense of mistrust toward the NPS that remains within some community members.

- “The PS was never told to, they were told to take care of the land and to document everything that moved over there, but they weren’t, if they weren’t told to record the history of who was there and what they were and who they were and why they were there, they never got around to it...so everybody got off to a bad start to begin with...they got crossed. And, uh, it’s never been really settled.” (PARTICIPANT #11)
- “They have seen the progress with the communities. Not saying that, you know, I mean, the park can make people mad still.” (PARTICIPANT #3)

#### Improving Over Time: Participants consider that while the relationship between the NPS and the community has been tumultuous, it has overall improved over time and continues to do so.

- “But all that’s over with now... Brilliantly, the gov’t did something right by preserving the whole thing for us. And it’s improved immensely.” (PARTICIPANT #15)
- “It’s just grown and grown and grown, and so we couldn’t do it without the park. So I think the growth of that relationship between outside groups, and not seeing them as a threat, but seeing them as a partner, has really, I mean, that has changed because there was a time when it was seen as a threat.” (PARTICIPANT #3)

#### NPS Better than Development: Even though some negative sentiment toward the NPS exists, overwhelmingly, community members voiced their preference of NPS ownership rather than private ownership and development.

- “But I think now that the people realize that even though it did take away what we used to enjoy, it is for the best. I mean, we had our house at Shackleford and I was dead set against the PS taking it at that time. But even then I realized that if they hadn’t taken it, it could end up in private hands and that would be worse. So the way it is now we can still go and enjoy it. And we can take a tent and we can stay there. Whereas if private commercial had it, there would be condos and cars and everything else. And that was the worst deal.” (PARTICIPANT #17)
- “Now that I have seen the changes that I have come about from that, it’s a good idea. A very good idea. You know, we’d have condo coast out there. I know there was some plans to put a bridge in from the end of Harker’s Island over to South Core Banks and build houses and stuff like that out there. Luckily that didn’t go through.” (PARTICIPANT #13)
- “It’s mellowed...a lot. Because they see what they’re doing and how it could have been, you know, another Myrtle Beach another Bogue Banks, another Nags Head. And they would not want that.” (PARTICIPANT #3)
- “And I think generally people are thankful that it is not privately held. That anybody can go over there regardless of who you are and have a good time, and you know, just knowing it’s there is a good thing. And it’s something people here are proud of.” (PARTICIPANT #14)
- I don’t think man is a threat to it anymore, and thank goodness to the federal government that made it a seashore. That makes all the difference. That’s not a popular thing in Carteret County, now everybody ain’t gonna tell you...
Community – Park Relationships: General

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<tr>
<th>Theme in bold italics. Description in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.</th>
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<td>That. But from a Mooreheader standpoint and a historian standpoint, I thought, you know what? That’s the best thing they ever did. They stole it from us, ok they did but they saved us from our own sins is what they did.” (PARTICIPANT #15)</td>
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<td>“But, but, um, most of ‘em realize it even if they don’t want to admit it, and this is me talking, if it weren’t a national park it would be either exclusive to rich people and you can’t go there or the lighthouse would have fallen down by now and that sort of thing.” (PARTICIPANT #16)</td>
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Note: Theme in bold italics. Description in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.
**Community – Park Relationships: Negative**

**Access Reduced or Restricted**: Participants discuss their objections to having their access to CALO land, buildings, and other resources regulated by the NPS.

- “Well, the cultural resources is the fishing. And they seem to try to restrict that more and more so I’m not sure why that’s helpful.” (PARTICIPANT #5)
- “It’s imperative that the people have access to these resources. Lately it seems as though they’re trying to limit that.” (PARTICIPANT #13)
- “So they took the land from them with no compensation, put about a twenty percent burden on, still doing the same thing they did, and restricted it. And I’ll tell you when the PS shut down, when the gov’t shut down and they locked ‘em out and the commercial fishermen were saying, ‘We were told we would never be denied access to the Banks.’ Which they’ve had for hundreds of years. I wanna tell you it was like setting a fire again.” (PARTICIPANT #2)

**Bureaucracy, Funding & Politics**: Participants describe how government buildings and lack of funding can hinder the effectiveness of and the community’s relationship with the NPS.

- “And the PS will let buildings fall apart and they have, the PS doesn’t have a reliable source of funding. Sometimes they get a lot of money, sometimes they get no money. When they get hurricanes they get a lot of money, when they don’t have hurricanes they’re starving to death. So they don’t really have a way of keeping up stuff, or don’t appear to have a way of keeping up buildings or having a long term plan, so they will forego routine maintenance and it becomes a disaster...” (PARTICIPANT #5)
- “[Don’t] hide behind, ‘there’s no funding.’ Go get the funding. There IS funding. I’m sorry. It’s hard to get, you’ve got to work for it, you’ve got to play the politics, and at this point, you know, there’s private sources that would have helped, but you know that gets all tangled up with the PS.” (PARTICIPANT #1)
- “I know they’re constrained by all kinds of things, legal and policy, government and all that.” (PARTICIPANT #13)
- “Their ideas and rules come from above them. And it seems to me, and this probably all over the country, when they move into a place they go by the rules from the higher ups that they’re under and they don’t really, they say that they’re talking with the local people, but they’re really not.” (PARTICIPANT #17)

**Exclusion of Local Community**: Participants express displeasure with the perceived exclusion of the local community in making decisions about the park.

- “The federal government in general, Park Service as an example, it’s easier to deal with facts and figures and a timeline and numbers and dates and names, than it is to deal with the people who still have a connection to it. And I think that...the people who do have that connection, they feel very much left out. And maybe, maybe the park does not have the capacity to include that, but it should. Especially in a small park like this that is this new, and the loss is this real.” (PARTICIPANT #1)
- “They say that they’re talking with the local people, but they’re really not taking local people as serious as they probably should...it would make their life probably a lot easier if they would get in with the local people. But all over the country, the Indians … and the reservations, out where there are parks, the park seems to come in and just take over and it’s theirs. And people that live there don’t have any sense.” (PARTICIPANT #17)

**Lack of Communication**: Participants discuss how they or others have felt that there is a clear lack of communication between the NPS and the community. Responses reveal that some blame lies with both parties.

- “The communication is terrible...It’s one hundred percent us against them. A good example, the people at Portsmouth Village have been trying to get access to one of the houses out there so they can stay overnight. And it’s over a year and no response. Very poor communication.” (PARTICIPANT #2)
- “It’s gotten better. ‘Cause I told you, when a group of people are meeting with the superintendent and he basically says, ‘I’m not interested in you guys.’ It doesn’t make for great community relations.” (PARTICIPANT #4)
- “So with that said, they’ve had a very tough row to hoe with this community. Starting out by taking their land away from them, claiming the imminent domain, so they were seen as the bad guys. So no matter what they tried to do people said, ‘Shut up. We don’t want to hear from you. We don’t want to talk to you. We want to burn your building down.’ So they came into it in a tough situation.” (PARTICIPANT #13)

**Leadership Turnover**: Participants comment on how NPS employees often only work at a park for a few years before moving to another, which can disrupt communication and create the impression that employees are not truly interested in CALO specifically.
Community – Park Relationships: Negative

- “It is my observation that National Park people -- professionals, staff, paid employees -- have a passion for ecology, environment, all those natural things. They can read the stars, you know, do all that stuff. But, since they’re not from here, and I’m sure this is true of lots of parks not just this one, but this is my experience. And maybe not even from NC. They’d just as soon be at a canyon or a mountain or something. They’re here, they’ll learn, this is a well, they can do, they do a wonderful job, but they’re never invested in the place. They are invested in the United States and let’s save the world, and all that kinda stuff.” (PARTICIPANT #16)

- “If you’re only gonna be here five years, and most of the enforcement guys are not their more than two or three years, so the communication is not good.” (PARTICIPANT #2)

- “Inherent in the Park Service is the trend that to advance, you move to another park. I’m not sure how that works. And people like I coming out of high school and college entered that park service b/c I wanted to see the country and I wanted to get paid to do it. That serves me personally. It might not serve the PS or the public.” (PARTICIPANT #10)

Note: Theme in bold italics. Description in italics. Examples of participants’ quotes bulleted.
### Table 14. Positive perceptions of the NPS – community relationship

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<tr>
<th>Community – Park Relationships: Positive</th>
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<td><strong>Cares for Nature:</strong> Participants describe how the NPS is an essential caretaker of CALO’s unique flora and fauna.</td>
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<td>• “The rangers that I know they always, they love the parks, they love the cultural and ecological histories of the parks they're in, and they've always been very sensitive to communities and things.” (PARTICIPANT #3)</td>
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<td>• “So, that’s been good, that they’ve tried to protect the wildlife and tried to keep the visitors away from sensitive areas, at least notifying or making sure that everybody understood that there were sensitive areas over there that were very important for birdlife and turtles and plants and whatever else.” (PARTICIPANT #11)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• “It is my observation that National Park people -- professionals, staff, paid employees -- have a passion for ecology, environment, all those natural things.” (PARTICIPANT #16)</td>
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<td><strong>Local Jobs &amp; Tourism Dollars:</strong> Participants discuss the benefits of the NPS providing local jobs in the Park Service itself as well as for private tour businesses and the added value of tourism revenue generated from visitors.</td>
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<td>• “The Park Service…does help about 20 people down there. And of course one of the great benefits about that is that most of the maintenance people live down there, they know that area, they come from families and backgrounds where they know how to fix stuff.” (PARTICIPANT #2)</td>
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<td>• “I’d have to go back to the economical aspect of it. I really do. It’s what draws people here. We have other things here, obviously. We have museums and other parks and things like that. But the majority of people that come here, I really think they’re wanting to get out on a boat and experience islands like they were, you know, hundreds of years ago.” (PARTICIPANT #13)</td>
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<td>• “Well Cape Lookout certainly helps the economy in the area. Because, you know, there’s a lot of fishermen coming in there, there’s a lot of vacationers…The tourism out there… it’s just a tremendous, it bolsters the economy because it’s an economically deprived area. A lot of the commercial fishermen have been wiped out. There’s not a whole lot of jobs out in that immediate area of Davis and so forth…Marshallburg…Harker's Island. But Cape Lookout, as far as tourism, has benefited, I think, probably benefitted the economy in the area a lot.” (PARTICIPANT #18)</td>
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<td><strong>Upkeep, Preservation &amp; Exhibits:</strong> Participants indicate their appreciation for the NPS’s critical role in maintaining, preserving, and interpreting the historic buildings at CALO.</td>
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<td>• “I mean, who but the federal government could have enough money to tent a large building like the Life Saving Service Building at CL and get rid of all the termites and rats and stuff that were in there. Who could reroof everything? Who could do all the studies, the landscapes, the assessments, you know, it’s just been, I mean it had to be the federal government. That’s what it took because it was a huge job, a huge job for all that.” (PARTICIPANT #3)</td>
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<td>• “From what I understand they’re all, I hear nothing but compliments. From casual boaters who didn’t really, from my friends in Raleigh on my one son-in-law’s side who go to Portsmouth every year. They speak very highly of it, I mean they speak very highly of the Park Service. You know, it’s clean, it’s kept up, Portsmouth is maintained. No, I think they’re doing a good job. I think they’re doing a good job and they have all of the assets to do a good job.” (PARTICIPANT #9)</td>
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<td>• “The PS has done nothing but enhance the enjoyment of being there just with modern buildings like the docks and walkways just to make it safe. That’s not drastic, it’s a subtle … They’ve maintained that keeper’s quarters, and that’s a nice looking building. They obviously protect the lighthouse too.” (PARTICIPANT #15)</td>
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<td><strong>Local Champion [former superintendent]:</strong> Participants explain how important it is to have a superintendent who truly cares about the resource and the community in order to effectively navigate NPS-Community relationships.</td>
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<td>• “So [a former superintendent] came in and [he] just solved it. His communication skills were just over the top. And if you had an issue he took care of it. He really, he was so sensitive to the people and what they had… he just sat down and said, ‘Look, I understand this is your place and you got a lot of memories here… The point was, [he] had, as a superintendent, tremendous leeway… and he exercised that in that manner. If you ask, everybody will tell you the same thing, ‘What will be the best thing for Cape Lookout?’ They’ll tell you, ‘Bring [former superintendent] back.’ Nothing else said. That’s what they’ll tell you. So communication skills are key.” (PARTICIPANT #2)</td>
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| • “I know [a former superintendent] was beloved. And the secret was, if somebody came in, and I know people ask dumb questions, but if somebody came in and asked about doing something, like some community rep or somebody, he didn’t say, ‘We can’t do that.’ He would talk to them about it and some of the response that I heard him do, ‘Well, let me check the regulations and see if we can get that done.’ Because he let you know, ‘I can’t write the rules, but I’ll at least look and see if we can do that.’ Instead of flat out, ‘Oh we can’t do that.’ And that’s the
Community – Park Relationships: Positive

- "difference. And like I said, he was, everybody that worked for him just loved him to death." (PARTICIPANT #4)
- "I'm just saying there's been some dynamite superintendents and the locals feel like they're engaged." (PARTICIPANT #10)

Note: **Theme** in bold italics. Description in italics. Examples of participants' quotes bulleted.
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<th>Community – Park Relationships: Recommendations</th>
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### Community Involvement & Listening to Locals:
Participants discuss the importance of involving the community in decision-making in a real way and taking local people’s opinions into consideration.

- “Sticking a brochure in your headquarters that somebody can come and get just doesn’t cut it. You’ve got to get out in the community, you’ve got to attend the church socials, you’ve got to have a bigger outreach into the community with your people. You can’t expect people to come to you.” (PARTICIPANT #13)
- “There needs to be more community involvement. And it sounds like you understand that from an anthropology point of view. Once it becomes sterile, then you’re just riding people over to look. People need a connection. And that’s true of everything.” (PARTICIPANT #2)
- “I’m not sure that decision-makers within the park have understood the PR value, not to mention the historic, cultural, all those layers, but they had a responsibility to this community who gave it up. I mean, they were forced to give it up, they didn’t give it up willingly, they were forced to give it up. And we still live here.” (PARTICIPANT #1)
- “They could do surveys of local people. This is the kind of um, ..., there are so many emotional ties to this area...And they could do surveys if they wanted to find out which buildings the local people or even some of the beach people care most about.” (PARTICIPANT #4)

### Understanding Complex Community & Resource:
Participants describe how it is imperative that the NPS make every effort to understand not only the resource but also its community and their complicated connections to the resource.

- “But if you want to really get out there, you’ve got to go out and you gotta talk to these people. You’ve got to make yourself more approachable. You’ve got to make yourself more Down East. You can’t sit in a building and expect people to get the information... So, they’ve got a tough road because...a portion of the local community, especially the Down East community...don’t like ‘em. They just don’t like ‘em...but I think they could do a better job in getting out and doing a bit more community outreach. And get off of the government ABC way to get your information out to the public.” (PARTICIPANT #13)
- “Being in the Down East community, you’re seen as an off-islander. You’re not a local. You’re a dingbatter. You’re a ditdit. Whatever you want to call it. So that’s a tough community to try and reach, so I understand that.” (PARTICIPANT #13)
- “I think that the PS has a tough job. They are tasked with managing a very complicated resource. And that resource has to be managed for the environment that it is, the wildlife that lives and reproduces on these islands, but they also have a commitment to the people.” (PARTICIPANT #13)

### Partner Organizations & Collaborations:
Participants encourage NPS managers to leverage relationships with partner organizations and collaborate with interested parties in order to alleviate some of the park’s financial and logistical problems.

- “And it’ll be adverse if you don’t include us in it. And there’s plenty of volunteers that’ll do that. Don’t worry about that. ’We need a group come to Portsmouth,’ we’ll raise our hands. All right, we’ll do that. ’So you gotta stay in Ocracoke and come over during the day.’ Ok, we’ll do that. That sort of thing. That’s what this, in the last 20 years, that’s what this PS down on Harker’s Island learned. If we work with ‘em we may get the same job done with their graces, which is the best way to do something anyway.” (PARTICIPANT #15)
- “They have a very organized group of people, the Friends of Portsmouth Island. They have homecomings, so they have a support mechanism, a support building put in place. So I think as a result of that it gets more attention. The church needed some work. But the church got a big overhaul. When you walk into the PV, it looks pristine. It really does.” (PARTICIPANT #13)
- “Every park has its own pain and its own history, and none of it’s easy. And there’s always a local community that sacrifices. Somebody, somebody has to give up something. And I think... back when we first started the museum and there was this big effort in partnerships, in public-private partnerships for institutions like the museum and the Blue Ridge Crafts Center and that if the PS realized they can’t do all this by themselves, and they shouldn’t do it by themselves, and I felt like that was a good sign that, that the park knew the communities where they are. But I haven’t seen that implemented. (PARTICIPANT #1)
- “You know we cannot make [the homecoming] a quality event the way it was, as you saw, without the PS’ help and consideration, and thoughtfulness. And they are, I mean, they work very hard to help do that. The volunteers and all our folks from our end. It’s just grown and grown and grown, and so we couldn’t do it without the park. So I think the growth of that relationship between outside groups, and not seeing them as a threat, but seeing them as a partner...” (PARTICIPANT #3)

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